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33

PLUTARCH'S

MORALIA

II

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES

II

86 B—171 F

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME II

CONTENTS

PREFACE

As in the first volume of this series, no apology is offered for the translation which, it is to be hoped, may be slightly better than that offered in the first volume, or, if that hope is vain, at least no worse.

To the bibliography in Vol. I. p. xxvi, is to be added an important and interesting book: H. J. Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch*. A New Translation with Introductory Essays and a Running Commentary (Oxford, 1924).

Of the essays included in this volume all but the last two had been sent to the printer, and the last two were ready for printing, when the new Teubner edition of Vol. I. of the *Moralia* appeared (*Plutarch Moralia*, Vol. I. recensuerunt et emendaverunt W. R. Paton† et I. Wegehaupt†. Praefationem scr. M. Poholenz. Leipzig, 1925). Consequently the text of the last two essays has been diligently compared with that of the new edition before they were sent to the printer, and in the rest only such changes have been made as seemed imperative. It is but fair to say that the changes made consist almost wholly of additional notations in regard to the readings of the MSS. The text as originally constituted, whether for better or for worse, has hardly been changed at all.

It may not be amiss to say a word about the new edition, which was prepared with the advice and consent of v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who is spoken of in the preface as "huius editionis patronus." The book is a great disappointment. True it gives detailed information in regard to the readings of the MSS., and some additional information regarding the MSS. and their relations, and it provides also a more generous list of references both to Plutarch and to other authors, although some important references seem to be missing. But the text itself, as finally constituted, is inferior to that of Bernardakis or of Wyttenbach. The editors seem too much inclined to subjective emendation, to rewriting Plutarch so as to make him say what they think he ought to have said—a fashion more in vogue in the last century. It is becoming clear that most of the minor errors in the text of Plutarch will yield in time to the orderly processes of textual criticism.

In the really difficult passages one will usually look in vain for help from this edition, for one will find in the text, as a rule, only a transcript of the reading of one or more manuscripts, or else occasionally an emendation which only too loudly condemns itself, and too often no note of suggestions made by others. The editors seem not to have read Hatzidakis' review of Bernardakis' edition (Ἀθηνᾶ, vol. xiii.), and many of the minor mistakes found in Bernardakis' edition are reprinted in this.[1] Again, in several cases, emendations are not correctly attributed to their

[1] It is amusing to find that one of these little errors, to which v. Wilamowitz Moellendorff, "huius editionis patronus," called especial attention in *Hermes*, vol xxv., appears here unchanged.

authors, and this leads one to question whether the readings of the MSS. are always recorded correctly. Yet, on the whole, the book is a distinct contribution to the study of Plutarch and it is a matter for regret that its publication was so long delayed, and a matter for still keener regret is the untimely death of the two editors, W. R. Paton and J. Wegehaupt.

F. C. B.

TRINITY COLLEGE,
HARTFORD, CONN.
November 1926.

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THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE BOOKS of the *Moralia* as they appear since the edition of Stephanus (1572), and their division into volumes in this edition.

HOW TO PROFIT BY ONE'S ENEMIES

(DE CAPIENDA EX INIMICIS UTILITATE)

INTRODUCTION

The essay on turning even one's enemies to some profitable use was an extempore address which was afterwards reduced to writing. It still retains, however, some of the marks of its extempore character in an occasional asyndeton or anacoluthon, in a few repetitions, and in such little slips as reversing the positions of Domitius and Scaurus (91 D). But minor matters of this sort cannot obscure the excellence of the essay as a whole, which contains much good advice, many wholesome truths, and much common sense. To cite but one example, the statement (91 B) that many things which are necessary in time of war, but bad under other conditions, acquire the sanction of custom and law, and cannot be easily abolished, even though the people are being injured by them, will appeal to everybody except the confirmed militarist. The essay was written some time after the essay entitled *Advice to Statesmen*, which in turn must be placed shortly after the death of Domitian (A.D. 96).

This is one of the "moral" essays of Plutarch which so impressed Christians that they were translated into Syriac in the sixth or seventh centuries. The translation of this essay is rather an adaptation, many details being omitted as unessential, but even so it gives light on the Greek text in a few places. The Syriac translation is published in *Studia Sinaitica*, No. IV (London 1894)

(86) B

ΠΩΣ ΑΝ ΤΙΣ ΥΠ' ΕΧΘΡΩΝ ΩΦΕΛΟΙΤΟ

1. Ὁρῶ μὲν ὅτι τὸν πραότατον, ὦ Κορνήλιε Ποῦλχερ,[1] πολιτείας ᾕρησαι τρόπον, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα τοῖς κοινοῖς ὠφέλιμος ὢν ἀλυπότατον ἰδίᾳ τοῖς ἐν-
C τυγχάνουσι παρέχεις σεαυτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ χώραν μὲν ἄθηρον ὥσπερ ἱστοροῦσι τὴν Κρήτην εὑρεῖν ἔστι, πολιτεία δὲ μήτε φθόνον ἐνηνοχυῖα μήτε ζῆλον ἢ φιλονεικίαν, ἔχθρας γονιμώτατα πάθη, μέχρι νῦν οὐ γέγονεν (ἀλλ' εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ταῖς ἔχθραις αἱ φιλίαι συμπλέκουσιν ἡμᾶς· ὃ καὶ Χίλων ὁ σοφὸς νοήσας τὸν εἰπόντα μηδένα ἔχειν ἐχθρὸν ἠρώτησεν εἰ μηδὲ φίλον ἔχει), δοκεῖ μοι τά τ' ἄλλα περὶ ἐχθρῶν τῷ πολιτικῷ διεσκέφθαι προσήκειν καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος ἀκηκοέναι μὴ παρέργως εἰπόντος ὅτι τοῦ νοῦν ἔχοντός ἐστι καὶ "ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὠφελεῖσθαι." ἅπερ οὖν εἰς τοῦτο πρῴην εἰπεῖν μοι παρέστη, συναγαγὼν ὁμοῦ τι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀπέσταλκά σοι, φεισάμενος ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα τῶν

[1] Ποῦλχερ Xylander: ποῦλχρε (or ποῦλχερ) ἅτερ. Perhaps ἅτερ came from the explanatory note of some copyist (Λατ. ερ).

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[a] Presumably Cn. Cornelius Pulcher, who was procurator in Achaea towards the close of Plutarch's life. He also held various other offices. *Cf. Corpus Inscr. Graec.* i. 1186.

[b] This tradition in regard to Crete is found in several ancient writers. *Cf.* for example Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 83.

HOW TO PROFIT BY ONE'S ENEMIES

1. I OBSERVE, my dear Cornelius Pulcher,[a] that you have chosen the mildest form of official administration, in which you are as helpful as possible to the public interests while at the same time you show yourself to be very amiable in private to those who have audience with you. Now it may be possible to find a country, in which, as it is recorded of Crete,[b] there are no wild animals, but a government which has not had to bear with envy or jealous rivalry or contention—emotions most productive of enmity—has not hitherto existed. For our very friendships, if nothing else, involve us in enmities. This is what the wise Chilon [c] had in mind, when he asked the man who boasted that he had no enemy whether he had no friend either. Therefore it seems to me to be the duty of a statesman not only to have thoroughly investigated the subject of enemies in general, but also in his reading of Xenophon [d] to have given more than passing attention to the remark that it is a trait of the man of sense "to derive profit even from his enemies." Some thoughts, therefore, on this subject, which I recently had occasion to express, I have put together in practically the same words, and now send them to you, with the omission, so far

[c] The same remark is quoted by Plutarch in *Moralia* 96 A. *Cf.* also Aulus Gellius, i. 3. [d] In *Oeconomicus* 1. 15.

(86) ἐν τοῖς Πολιτικοῖς Παραγγέλμασι γεγραμμένων,
D ἐπεὶ κἀκεῖνο τὸ βιβλίον ὁρῶ σε πρόχειρον ἔχοντα πολλάκις.

2. Ἐξήρκει τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων καὶ ἀγρίων ζῴων μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο τῶν πρὸς τὰ θηρία τέλος ἦν ἀγώνων ἐκείνοις· οἱ δ' ὕστερον ἤδη χρῆσθαι μαθόντες αὐτοῖς καὶ ὠφελοῦνται σαρξὶ τρεφόμενοι καὶ θριξὶν ἀμφιεννύμενοι καὶ χολαῖς καὶ πυτίαις ἰατρευόμενοι καὶ δέρμασιν ὁπλίζοντες ἑαυτούς, ὥστ' ἄξιον εἶναι δεδιέναι μὴ τῶν θηρίων ἐπιλιπόντων τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ θηριώδης ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ γένηται καὶ ἄπορος καὶ ἀνήμερος. ἐπεὶ
E τοίνυν τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἱκανόν ἐστι τὸ μὴ πάσχειν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακῶς, τοὺς δὲ νοῦν ἔχοντας ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ ὠφελεῖσθαί φησιν ἀπὸ τῶν διαφερομένων, ἀπιστεῖν μὲν οὐ χρή, ζητεῖν δὲ μέθοδον καὶ τέχνην δι' ἧς τοῦτο περιέσται τὸ καλὸν οἷς χωρὶς ἐχθροῦ ζῆν ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν.

Οὐ δύναται πᾶν ἐξημερῶσαι δένδρον ὁ γεωργὸς οὐδὲ πᾶν τιθασεῦσαι θηρίον ὁ κυνηγός· ἐζήτησαν οὖν καθ' ἑτέρας χρείας ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀκάρπων ὁ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρίων ὠφελεῖσθαι. τῆς θαλάττης τὸ ὕδωρ ἄποτόν ἐστι καὶ πονηρόν, ἀλλ' ἰχθῦς τρέφει καὶ πόμπιμόν ἐστι πάντῃ καὶ πορεύσιμον ὄχημα τοῖς κομιζομένοις· τοῦ δὲ σατύρου τὸ πῦρ, ὡς
F πρῶτον ὤφθη, βουλομένου φιλῆσαι καὶ περιβαλεῖν, ὁ Προμηθεύς

[a] This work has been preserved; it is to be found in the *Moralia*, 798 A-825 F.

as possible, of matter contained in my *Advice to Statesmen*,[a] since I observe that you often have that book close at hand.

2. Primitive men were quite content if they could escape being injured by strange and fierce animals, and this was the aim and end of their struggles against the wild beasts; but their successors, by learning, as they did, how to make use of them, now profit by them through using their flesh for food, their hair for clothing, their gall and colostrum as medicine, and their skins as armour, so that there is good reason to fear that, if the supply of wild beasts should fail man, his life would become bestial, helpless, and uncivilized.[b] Since, then, it is enough for most people if they can avoid suffering ill-treatment at the hands of their enemies, and since Xenophon[c] asserts that men of sense will even derive profit from those who are at variance with them, we must not refuse him credence, but rather try to discover the system and the art through which this admirable advantage is to be gained by those who find it impossible to live without an enemy.

The farmer cannot domesticate every tree, nor can the huntsman tame every beast; and so they have sought to derive profit from these in ways to meet their other needs: the farmer from the trees that bear no fruit and the huntsman from the wild animals. The water of the sea is unfit to drink and tastes vile; yet fish thrive in it, and it is a medium for the dispatch and conveyance of travellers everywhere. The Satyr, at his first sight of fire, wished to kiss and embrace it, but Prometheus said,

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 964 A.
[c] *Oeconomicus*, 1. 15; *cf.* also *Cyropaedia*, i. 6. 11.

τράγος γένειον ἆρα πενθήσεις σύ γε·

καὶ γὰρ[1] *κάει τὸν ἁψάμενον, ἀλλὰ φῶς παρέχει καὶ θερμότητα καὶ τέχνης ἁπάσης ὄργανόν ἐστι τοῖς χρῆσθαι μαθοῦσι. σκόπει δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐχθρόν, εἰ βλαβερὸς ὢν τἄλλα καὶ δυσμεταχείριστος, ἁμωσγέπως ἁφὴν ἐνδίδωσιν αὑτοῦ καὶ χρῆσιν οἰκείαν*
87 *καὶ ὠφέλιμός ἐστι. καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἄφιλα πολλὰ καὶ ἀπεχθῆ καὶ ἀντίπαλα τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν· ἀλλ' ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ νόσοις ἔνιοι σώματος εἰς ἀπραγμοσύνην ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ πόνοι πολλοῖς προσπεσόντες ἔρρωσαν καὶ ἤσκησαν. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ πατρίδος στέρησιν καὶ χρημάτων ἀποβολὴν ἐφόδιον σχολῆς ἐποιήσαντο καὶ φιλοσοφίας, ὡς Διογένης καὶ* Κράτης· *Ζήνων δέ, τῆς ναυκληρίας αὐτῷ συντριβείσης, πυθόμενος εἶπεν, " εὖ γ', ὦ τύχη, ποιεῖς, εἰς τὸν τρίβωνα συνελαύνουσα ἡμᾶς." ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ ῥωμαλεώτατα*[2] *τοὺς στομάχους*[3] *καὶ ὑγιεινότατα τῶν ζῴων ὄφεις ἐσθίοντα καταπέττει*
B *καὶ σκορπίους, ἔστι δ' ἃ καὶ λίθοις καὶ ὀστράκοις τρέφεται (μεταβάλλουσι δὲ δι' εὐτονίαν καὶ θερμότητα πνεύματος), οἱ δὲ σικχοὶ καὶ νοσώδεις ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον*[4] *προσφερόμενοι ναυτιῶσιν, οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἀνόητοι καὶ τὰς φιλίας διαφθείρουσιν, οἱ δὲ φρόνιμοι καὶ ταῖς ἔχθραις ἐμμελῶς χρῆσθαι δύνανται.*

[1] *καὶ γὰρ* added by Bernardakis.
[2] *ῥωμαλεώτατα* Hercher: *ῥωμαλέα* (*ῥωμαλεώτερα* Suidas *s.v.* *σικχός*).
[3] *τοὺς στομάχους* Suidas: *τοῖς στομάχοις*.
[4] *οἶνον*] *ὕδωρ* Suidas.

[a] From *Prometheus the Fire-bearer* of Aeschylus. *Cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Aeschylus, No. 207.
[b] *Cf.* Diogenes Laertius, vi. 20 ff.

You, goat, will mourn your vanished beard,[a]

for fire burns him who touches it, yet it furnishes light and heat, and is an instrument of every craft for those who have learned to use it. So look at your enemy, and see whether, in spite of his being in most respects harmful and difficult to manage, he does not in some way or other afford you means of getting hold of him and of using him as you can use no one else, and so can be of profit to you. Many of the circumstances of life are unkindly and hateful and repellent to those who have to meet them; yet you observe that some have employed their attacks of bodily illness for quiet resting, and trials which have fallen to the lot of many have but strengthened and trained them. Some, too, have made banishment and loss of property a means of leisure and philosophic study, as did Diogenes[b] and Crates.[c] And Zeno,[d] on learning that the ship which bore his venture had been wrecked, exclaimed, "A real kindness, O Fortune, that thou, too, dost join in driving us to the philosopher's cloak!" For just as those animals which have the strongest and soundest stomachs can eat and digest snakes and scorpions, and there are some even that derive nourishment from stones and shells (for they transmute such things by reason of the vigour and heat of their spirit), while fastidious and sickly persons are nauseated if they partake of bread and wine, so fools spoil even their friendships, while wise men are able to make a fitting use even of their enmities.

[c] *Ibid.* vi. 85.

[d] The remark of Zeno is again referred to by Plutarch in *Moralia*, 467 D and 603 D; *cf.* also Diogenes Laertius, vii. 5, and Seneca, *De animi tranquillitate*, chap. xiii.

(87) 3. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ μοι τῆς ἔχθρας τὸ βλαβερώτατον ὠφελιμώτατον ἂν γενέσθαι τοῖς προσέχουσιν. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστίν; ἐφεδρεύει σου τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐγρηγορὼς ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἀεὶ καὶ λαβὴν ζητῶν πανταχόθεν περιοδεύει τὸν βίον, οὐ διὰ δρυὸς μόνον ὁρῶν ὡς ὁ Λυγκεὺς[a] οὐδὲ διὰ λίθων
C καὶ ὀστράκων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ φίλου καὶ οἰκέτου καὶ διὰ συνήθους παντὸς ὡς ἀνυστόν ἐστι φωρῶν τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ τὰ βουλευόμενα διορύττων καὶ διερευνώμενος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ φίλοι καὶ νοσοῦντες ἡμᾶς πολλάκις καὶ ἀποθνῄσκοντες λανθάνουσιν ἀμελοῦντας καὶ ὀλιγωροῦντας, τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν μονονουχὶ καὶ τοὺς ὀνείρους πολυπραγμονοῦμεν· νόσοι δὲ καὶ δανεισμοὶ καὶ διαφοραὶ πρὸς γυναῖκας αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ἐχθρὸν λανθάνουσι. μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἔχεται καὶ ταύτας ἐξιχνεύει. καὶ καθάπερ οἱ γῦπες ἐπὶ τὰς ὀσμὰς
D τῶν διεφθορότων σωμάτων φέρονται, τῶν δὲ καθαρῶν καὶ ὑγιαινόντων αἴσθησιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, οὕτω τὰ νοσοῦντα τοῦ βίου καὶ φαῦλα καὶ πεπονθότα κινεῖ τὸν ἐχθρόν, καὶ πρὸς ταῦθ' οἱ μισοῦντες ᾄττουσι καὶ τούτων ἅπτονται καὶ σπαράττουσι. τοῦτο οὖν ὠφέλιμόν ἐστι; πάνυ μὲν οὖν, εὐλαβούμενον ζῆν καὶ προσέχειν ἑαυτῷ καὶ μήτε πράττειν μηδὲν ὀλιγώρως καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως μήτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ διαφυλάττειν ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκριβεῖ διαίτῃ τὸν βίον ἀνεπίληπτον· ἡ γὰρ οὕτω συστέλλουσα τὰ
E πάθη καὶ συνέχουσα τὸν λογισμὸν εὐλάβεια μελέτην ἐμποιεῖ καὶ προαίρεσιν τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιεικῶς καὶ

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[a] Lynceus was gifted with superhuman powers of vision; *cf.* for example *Moralia*, 1083 D; Pindar, *Nemean Odes*, x. 60; Horace, *Epistles*, i. 1. 28, and Pausanias, iv. 2.

3. In the first place, then, it seems to me that the most harmful element in enmity may be made most profitable to those who give heed. What is this? Your enemy, wide awake, is constantly lying in wait to take advantage of your actions, and seeking to gain some hold on you, keeping up a constant patrol about your life; and not only does his sight, like the sight of Lynceus,[a] penetrate the oak-tree and stones and tiles, but your enemy, through every friend and servant and acquaintance as well, so far as possible, plays the detective on your actions and digs his way into your plans and searches them through and through. Oftentimes we do not learn, until too late, of the illness or the death of our friends, so careless are we and neglectful; but our curiosity about our enemies all but prompts us to pry into their dreams; sickness, debts, and conjugal disagreements are more likely to be unknown to the very persons affected than to their enemy. Especially does he try to get hold of their failings and ferret them out. And just as vultures are drawn to the smell of decomposed bodies, but have no power to discover those that are clean and healthy, so the infirmities, meannesses, and untoward experiences of life rouse the energies of the enemy, and it is such things as these that the malevolent pounce upon and seize and tear to pieces. Is this then profitable? Assuredly it is, to have to live circumspectly, to give heed to one's self, and not to do or say anything carelessly or inconsiderately, but always to keep one's life unassailable as though under an exact regimen. For the circumspection which thus represses the emotions and keeps the reasoning power within bounds gives practice and purpose in living a life that

ἀνεγκλήτως. καθάπερ γὰρ αἱ πολέμοις ἀστυγειτονικοῖς καὶ στρατείαις ἐνδελεχέσι σωφρονιζόμεναι πόλεις εὐνομίαν καὶ πολιτείαν ὑγιαίνουσαν ἠγάπησαν, οὕτως οἱ δι' ἔχθρας τινὰς ἀναγκασθέντες ἐπινήφειν τῷ βίῳ καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸ ῥᾳθυμεῖν καὶ καταφρονεῖν καὶ μετ' εὐχρηστίας ἕκαστα πράττειν λανθάνουσιν εἰς τὸ ἀναμάρτητον ὑπὸ τῆς συνηθείας ἀγόμενοι καὶ κατακοσμούμενοι τὸν τρόπον, ἂν καὶ μικρὸν ὁ λόγος συνεπιλαμβάνηται. τὸ γάρ

F ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες

οἷς ἐστιν ἀεὶ πρόχειρον, ἐπιστρέφει καὶ διατρέπει καὶ ἀφίστησι τῶν τοιούτων ἐφ' οἷς οἱ ἐχθροὶ χαίρουσι καὶ καταγελῶσι. καὶ μὴν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίτας ὁρῶμεν ἐκλελυμένους καὶ ἀπροθύμους καὶ οὐκ ἀκριβῶς πολλάκις ἀγωνιζομένους ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν· ὅταν δ' ἅμιλλα καὶ ἀγὼν γένηται πρὸς ἑτέρους, οὐ μόνον αὑτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὄργανα μᾶλλον συνεπιστρέφουσι, χορδολογοῦντες καὶ ἀκριβέστερον ἁρμοζόμενοι καὶ καταυλοῦντες. ὅστις οὖν οἶδεν ἀνταγωνιστὴν βίου καὶ δόξης τὸν
88 ἐχθρὸν ὄντα, προσέχει μᾶλλον αὑτῷ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα περισκοπεῖ καὶ διαρμόζεται τὸν βίον. ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς κακίας ἴδιόν ἐστι, τὸ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αἰσχύνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς φίλους ἐφ' οἷς ἐξαμαρτάνομεν. ὅθεν ὁ Νασικᾶς, οἰομένων τινῶν καὶ λεγόντων ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γεγονέναι τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα Καρχηδονίων μὲν ἀνῃρημένων Ἀχαιῶν δὲ

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[a] Homer, *Il.* i. 255. The words are addressed by Nestor to the Greek leaders, Agamemnon and Achilles, who have quarrelled.

[b] Actors and musicians.

is fair and free from reproach. For just as states which are chastened by border warfare and continual campaigning become well content with good order and a sound government, so persons who have been compelled on account of enmities to practise soberness of living, to guard against indolence and contemptuousness, and to let some good purpose prompt each act, are insensibly led by force of habit to make no mistakes, and are made orderly in their behaviour, even if reason co-operate but slightly. For when men keep always ready in mind the thought that

> Priam and Priam's sons would in truth have cause for rejoicing,[a]

it causes them to face about and turn aside and abandon such things as give their enemies occasion for rejoicing and derision. Furthermore, we observe that the Dionysiac artists[b] often play their parts in the theatres in a listless, dispirited, and inaccurate way when they are by themselves; but when there is rivalry and competition with another company, then they apply not only themselves but their instruments more attentively, picking their strings and tuning them and playing their flutes in more exact harmony. So the man who knows that his enemy is his competitor in life and repute is more heedful of himself, and more circumspect about his actions, and brings his life into a more thorough harmony. For it is a peculiar mark of vice, that we feel more ashamed of our faults before our enemies than before our friends. This is the ground of Nasica's remark, when some expressed their belief that the power of the Romans was now secure, inasmuch as the Carthaginians had been annihilated and

(88) δεδουλωμένων, " νῦν μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, " ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχομεν, μήθ' οὓς φοβηθῶμεν μήθ' οὓς αἰσχυνθῶμεν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπολελοιπότες."

B 4. Ἔτι τοίνυν πρόσλαβε τὴν Διογένους ἀπόφασιν, φιλόσοφον σφόδρα καὶ πολιτικὴν οὖσαν· " πῶς ἀμυνοῦμαι τὸν ἐχθρόν;" " αὐτὸς καλὸς κἀγαθὸς γενόμενος." ἵππους ἐχθρῶν ὁρῶντες εὐδοκιμοῦντας ἀνιῶνται καὶ[1] κύνας ἐπαινουμένους. ἂν χωρίον ἐκπεπονημένον ἴδωσιν, ἂν εὐθαλοῦντα κῆπον, ἐπιστένουσι. τί οὖν οἴει, σεαυτὸν ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἄνδρα δίκαιον ἀρτίφρονα χρηστόν, ἐν λόγοις εὐδόκιμον, ἐν πράξεσι καθαρόν, ἐν διαίτῃ κόσμιον,

βαθεῖαν αὔλακα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενον,
ἐξ[2] ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα;

" νικώμενοι," φησὶ Πίνδαρος,
" ἄνδρες ἀγρυξίᾳ δέδενται,"

C οὐχ ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ πάντες, ἀλλ' ὅσοι νικωμένους αὑτοὺς ὁρῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιμελείᾳ χρηστότητι μεγαλοφροσύνῃ φιλανθρωπίαις εὐεργεσίαις· ταῦτ' " ἀποστρέφει τὴν γλῶτταν," ὡς ὁ Δημοσθένης φησίν, " ἐμφράττει τὸ στόμα, ἄγχει, σιωπᾶν ποιεῖ."

σύ τοι διάφερε τῶν κακῶν· ἔξεστι γάρ.

εἰ θέλεις ἀνιᾶν τὸν μισοῦντα, μὴ λοιδόρει κίναιδον μηδὲ μαλακὸν μηδ' ἀκόλαστον μηδὲ βωμολόχον

[1] καὶ added by Bernardakis. [2] ἐξ] ἀφ' Aeschylus.

[a] Quoted again in *Moralia*, 21 E.

[b] Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, 593; quoted also in *Moralia*, 32 D, 186 B, and *Life of Aristides*, chap. iii. (p. 320 B).

the Achaeans reduced to subjection. "Nay," he said, "now is our position really dangerous, since we have left for ourselves none to make us either afraid or ashamed."

4. Moreover, as a supplement to this take the declaration of Diogenes,[a] which is thoroughly philosophic and statesmanlike: "How shall I defend myself against my enemy?" "By proving yourself good and honourable." Men are much distressed when they see their enemies' horses winning renown or their dogs gaining approval. At the sight of a well-tilled field or a flourishing garden they groan. What, think you, would be their state of mind if you were to show yourself to be an honest, sensible man and a useful citizen, of high repute in speech, clean in actions, orderly in living,

> Reaping the deep-sown furrow of your mind
> From which all goodly counsels spring?[b]

Pindar[c] says,

> The vanquished are bound
> In the fetters of silence profound,

not absolutely or universally, however, but only those who realize that they are outdone by their enemies in diligence, goodness, magnanimity, kindly deeds, and good works. These are the things which, as Demosthenes[d] puts it, "retard the tongue, stop the mouth, constrict the throat, and leave one with nothing to say."

> Be thou unlike the base; this thou canst do.[e]

If you wish to distress the man who hates you, do not revile him as lewd, effeminate, licentious, vulgar,

[c] Pindar, *Frag.* 229 (ed. Christ).
[d] Demosthenes, Or. xix. (*De falsa legatione*) 208 (p. 406).
[e] Euripides, *Orestes*, 251.

(88) μηδ' ἀνελεύθερον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἴσθι καὶ σωφρόνει καὶ ἀλήθευε καὶ χρῶ φιλανθρώπως καὶ
D δικαίως τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν. ἂν δὲ λοιδορῆσαι προαχθῇς, ἄπαγε πορρωτάτω σεαυτὸν ὧν λοιδορεῖς ἐκεῖνον. ἐνδύου τῇ ψυχῇ, περισκόπει τὰ σαθρά,[1] μή τίς σοί ποθεν ὑποφθέγγηται κακία τὸ τοῦ τραγῳδοῦ

ἄλλων ἰατρὸς αὐτὸς ἕλκεσιν βρύων.

ἂν ἀπαίδευτον εἴπῃς,[2] ἐπίτεινε τὸ φιλομαθὲς ἐν σεαυτῷ καὶ φιλόπονον· ἂν δειλόν, ἔγειρε μᾶλλον τὸ θαρραλέον καὶ ἀνδρῶδες· κἂν ἀσελγῆ καὶ ἀκόλαστον, ἐξάλειφε τῆς ψυχῆς εἴ τι λανθάνον ἐστὶ φιληδονίας ἴχνος. οὐδὲν γὰρ αἴσχιόν ἐστι βλασφημίας παλινδρομούσης οὐδὲ λυπηρότερον, ἀλλ' ἔοικε καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ ἀνακλώμενον μᾶλλον ἐνοχλεῖν τὰς ἀσθενεῖς ὁράσεις καὶ τῶν ψόγων οἱ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀναφερόμενοι τοὺς ψέγοντας ὑπὸ τῆς
E ἀληθείας. ὡς γὰρ ὁ καικίας τὰ νέφη, καὶ ὁ φαῦλος βίος ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἕλκει τὰς λοιδορίας.

5. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πλάτων ὁσάκις ἀσχημονοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις παραγένοιτο, πρὸς αὑτὸν εἰώθει λέγειν "μή που ἄρ'[3] ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος;" ὁ δὲ λοιδορήσας

[1] For τὰ σαθρά the Syriac version appears to have read τὰ σὰ ἔργα, "examine your actions."

[2] εἴπῃς Boissonade, confirmed by the Syriac version: εἴπῃ σε.

[3] που ἄρ' Hercher, to conform to the other quotations of this saying by Plutarch: πῃ ἄρ', or ποι ἄρ'.

[a] From an unknown play of Euripides; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 1086; Plutarch quotes the line also in *Moralia*, 71 F, 481 A, and 1110 E.

[b] Proverbial; *cf.* Aristotle, *Problem.* 26. 1; Theophrastus, *De ventis*, p. 410; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 48;

or illiberal, but be a man yourself, show self-control, be truthful, and treat with kindness and justice those who have to deal with you. And if you are led into reviling, remove yourself as far as possible from the things for which you revile him. Enter within the portals of your own soul, look about to see if there be any rottenness there, lest some vice lurking somewhere within whisper to you the words of the tragedian:

> Wouldst thou heal others, full of sores thyself?[a]

If you call your enemy uneducated, strive to intensify in yourself the love of learning and industry; if you call him a coward, rouse even more your self-reliance and manliness; if you call him unchaste and licentious, obliterate from your soul whatever trace of devotion to pleasure may be lurking there unperceived. For there is nothing more disgraceful or painful than evil-speaking that recoils upon its author. So reflected light appears to be the more troublesome in cases of weak eyesight, and the same is true of censures that by the truth are brought back upon the very persons who are responsible for them. For as surely the north-east wind[b] brings the clouds, so surely does a bad life bring revilings upon itself.

5. As often as Plato[c] found himself in the company of persons whose conduct was unseemly, he was wont to say to himself, "Is it possible that I am like them?" But if the man who reviles another's

Plutarch, *Moralia*, 823 B, and Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, No. 75.

[c] This remark of Plato is cited also in the *Moralia*, 40 D, 129 D, and 463 E.

τὸν ἑτέρου βίον ἂν εὐθὺς ἐπισκοπῇ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεθαρμόττῃ πρὸς τοὐναντίον ἀπευθύνων καὶ ἀποστρέφων, ἕξει τι χρήσιμον ἐκ τοῦ λοιδορεῖν, ἄλλως ἀχρήστου καὶ κενοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι καὶ ὄντος.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ γελῶσιν, ἄν τις ὢν φαλακρὸς ἢ
F κυρτὸς ἑτέρους εἰς ταῦτα λοιδορῇ καὶ σκώπτῃ· γελοῖον δ᾽ ὅλως ἐστὶ τὸ λοιδορεῖν καὶ σκώπτειν ὁτιοῦν ἀντιλοιδορηθῆναι δυνάμενον, ὡς Λέων ὁ Βυζάντιος ὑπὸ κυρτοῦ λοιδορηθεὶς εἰς τὴν τῶν ὀμμάτων ἀσθένειαν, "ἀνθρώπινον," ἔφη, "πάθος ὀνειδίζεις, ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου φέρων τὴν νέμεσιν." οὐκοῦν μηδὲ μοιχὸν λοιδορήσῃς, αὐτὸς ὢν παιδομανής, μηδ᾽ ἄσωτον, αὐτὸς ὢν ἀνελεύθερος.

ἀνδροκτόνου γυναικὸς ὁμογενὴς ἔφυς

πρὸς τὸν Ἄδραστον ὁ Ἀλκμέων. τί οὖν ἐκεῖνος; οὐκ ἀλλότριον ἀλλ᾽ ἴδιον αὐτῷ προφέρων ὄνειδος

89 σὺ δ᾽ αὐτόχειρ γε μητρὸς ἥ σ᾽ ἐγείνατο.

πρὸς τὸν Κράσσον ὁ Δομίτιος, "οὐ σὺ μυραίνης ἐν ζωγρείῳ σοι τρεφομένης εἶτ᾽ ἀποθανούσης ἔκλαυσας;" καὶ ὁ ἕτερος "οὐ σὺ τρεῖς γυναῖκας ἐκκομίσας οὐκ ἐδάκρυσας;" οὐκ εὐφυῆ δεῖ τὸν λοιδορησόμενον εἶναι καὶ μεγαλόφωνον καὶ ἰταμόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀλοιδόρητον καὶ ἀνέγκλητον· οὐδενὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔοικε προστάττειν ὁ θεὸς ὡς τῷ μέλλοντι ψέγειν

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[a] *Cf.* 633 c, for a slightly different version of the story.

[b] From the *Alcmaeon* of Euripides; *cf.* Nauck, *T.G.F.*, Adespota, No. 358. Quoted also in *Moralia*, 35 D.

[c] Crassus's pet eel was famous. Plutarch speaks of it twice elsewhere: *Moralia*, 811 A and 976 A. Of other writers, Aelian, *De natura animal.* viii. 4, contains the most interesting account of it.

life will at once carefully inspect his own, and readjust it by directing and turning it aside into the opposite course, he will have gained something useful from this reviling, which, otherwise, not only gives the impression of being useless and inane, but is so in fact.

Now most people laugh if a man who is bald or hump-backed reviles and jeers at others for being in such case; for it is altogether ridiculous to indulge in reviling and jeering at anything that affords to another the opportunity for a caustic retort. For example, Leo[a] of Byzantium, being reviled by a humpback for the weakness of his eyes, said, "You reproach me with that which can happen to any man, while you bear on your back the mark of God's wrath!" Do not therefore ever revile an adulterer when you yourself are given to unnatural lust, nor a profligate when you yourself are stingy.

> Own kin are you of her who slew her spouse[b]

are the words of Alcmeon to Adrastus. What then does Adrastus say? He reproaches the speaker with a shameful deed which is not another's but all his own:

> But you yourself slew her who gave you birth.[b]

Domitius remarked to Crassus, "Did you not weep at the death of a lamprey[c] which was being kept for you in a fish-pond?" And the other replied, "Did you not bury three wives and not shed a tear?" The man who is going to indulge in reviling need not be smart and loud-voiced and aggressive, but he must be irreproachable and unimpeachable. For upon nobody does the divine power seem so to enjoin

(89) ἕτερον τὸ "γνῶθι σαυτόν," ἵνα μὴ λέγοντες ἃ θέλουσιν ἀκούωσιν ἃ μὴ θέλουσι. "φιλεῖ" γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα

B γλῶσσαν ἐκχέας μάτην
ἄκων ἀκούειν οὓς ἑκὼν εἴπῃ λόγους.

6. Τουτὶ μὲν οὖν ἔνεστι τῷ λοιδορεῖν τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὠφέλιμον καὶ χρήσιμον· οὐκ ἔλαττον δ' ἑτέρῳ,[1] τῷ[2] λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ κακῶς ἀκούειν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν. ὅθεν ὀρθῶς ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπεν ὅτι τοῖς μέλλουσι σῴζεσθαι φίλων δεῖ γνησίων ἢ διαπύρων ἐχθρῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ νουθετοῦντες τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας οἱ δὲ λοιδοροῦντες ἀποτρέπουσι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ φιλία τὰ νῦν ἰσχνόφωνος γέγονεν ἐν τῷ παρρησιάζεσθαι, καὶ τὸ κολακεῦον αὐτῆς λάλον ἐστί, τὸ
C δὲ νουθετοῦν ἄναυδον, ἀκουστέον ἐστὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ὡς γὰρ ὁ Τήλεφος οἰκείου μὴ τυγχάνων ἰατροῦ τῷ πολεμικῷ δόρατι τὸ ἕλκος ὑπέθηκεν, οὕτω τοὺς ἀποροῦντας εὐνοίας νουθετούσης ὑπομένειν ἀνάγκη μισοῦντος ἐχθροῦ λόγον, ἂν ἐλέγχῃ καὶ κολάζῃ τὴν κακίαν, σκοποῦντας τὸ ἔργον ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ κακῶς λέγοντος. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ τὸν Θεσσαλὸν Προμηθέα κτεῖναι διανοηθεὶς ἔπαισε τῷ ξίφει τὸ φῦμα καὶ διεῖλεν οὕτως

[1] ἑτέρῳ F.C.B.: ἑτέρου, ἕτερα or ἕτερον.
[2] τῷ] τὸ most MSS.

[a] Two lines of a longer quotation from an unknown play; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Sophocles, No. 843.

[b] Diogenes is given as the author of this saying twice elsewhere in the *Moralia*, 74 C and 82 A. One MS. gives Diogenes here.

[c] Among the many references to this story, it is perhaps sufficient to cite *Moralia*, 46 F; Propertius, ii. 1. 63; Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 1. 15.

the precept, "Know thyself," as upon him who purposes to censure another, so that such persons may not, by saying what they want to say, have to hear what they do not want to hear. For a person of this type, as Sophocles [a] puts it,

> By babbling thoughtless talk is wont to hear
> Against his will the words he willing speaks.

6. There may be, then, so much that is profitable and useful in reviling one's enemy; but no less profit lies in the alternative of being reviled oneself and ill spoken of by one's enemies. Hence Antisthenes [b] was quite right in saying that, as a matter of self-preservation, men have need of true friends or else of ardent enemies; for the first by admonition, and the second by reviling, turn them from error. But since friendship's voice has nowadays become thin and weak when it comes to frank speaking, while its flattery is voluble and its admonition mute, we have to depend upon our enemies to hear the truth. For as Telephus,[c] unable to find a suitable physician, subjected his wound to his enemy's spear, so those who are cut off from benevolent admonition must submit with patience to the remarks of a malevolent enemy if he exposes and reprehends their vice, and they must give consideration to the facts only, and not to what is in the mind of the detractor. Another parallel is the case of the man who, with intent to kill the Thessalian Prometheus,[d] smote with his sword a tumour which Prometheus had, and opened it so that the man's life

[d] Apparently a sort of nickname of Jason of Pherae; at any rate this story is told of Jason by Cicero, *De natura deorum*, iii. 28 (70); Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 51; and Valerius Maximus, i. 8, ext. 6. *Cf.* Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 3. 36.

(89) ὥστε σωθῆναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ φύματος ῥαγέντος, οὕτω πολλάκις ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἢ ἔχ-
D θρας προσπεσοῦσα λοιδορία κακὸν ψυχῆς ἢ ἀγνοούμενον ἢ ἀμελούμενον ἐθεράπευσεν. ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ λοιδορηθέντες οὐ σκοποῦσιν εἰ πρόσεστιν αὐτοῖς τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀλλὰ τί πρόσεστιν ἕτερον τῷ λοιδοροῦντι, καὶ καθάπερ οἱ παλαίοντες τὴν κόνιν οὐχ ἑαυτῶν ἀποψῶσι τὰς λοιδορίας, ἀλλὰ συμπάττουσιν ἀλλήλους εἶτα φύρονται καὶ ἀναχρώννυνται συμπεσόντες ὑπ' ἀλλήλων. δεῖ δ' ἀκούσαντα κακῶς ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τὸ μὲν προσὸν ἀφαιρεῖν αὑτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ κηλῖδα προσοῦσαν ἱματίῳ καὶ δειχθεῖσαν· ἂν δέ τις λέγῃ τὰ μὴ προσόντα, ὅμως ζητεῖν τὴν[1] αἰτίαν ἀφ'
E ἧς ἡ βλασφημία γέγονε, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι καὶ δεδιέναι μή τι λανθάνωμεν ἢ σύνεγγυς ἢ ὅμοιον τῷ λεγομένῳ παραμαρτάνοντες. οἷον Λακύδην[2] τὸν Ἀργείων βασιλέα κόμης τινὸς διάθεσις καὶ βάδισμα τρυφερώτερον εἰς μαλακίαν διέβαλε, καὶ Πομπήιον τὸ ἑνὶ κνᾶσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν δακτύλῳ πορρωτάτω θηλύτητος καὶ ἀκολασίας ὄντα. Κράσσος δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν μιᾷ παρθένων αἰτίαν ἔσχε πλησιάζειν, χωρίον τι καλὸν ὠνήσασθαι παρ' αὐτῆς βουλόμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις ἐντυγχάνων

[1] τὴν added by Hercher.
[2] Λακύδην] Λακήδην was suggested by Wyttenbach (followed by Wilamowitz), comparing Pausanias, ii. 19. 2.

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[a] Mention of this habit of Pompey's is found also in the *Moralia*, 800 D, in the *Life of Pompey*, chap. xlviii. (p. 645 A), and in the *Life of Caesar*, chap. iv. (p. 709 B).

[b] The story is told more fully in the *Life of Crassus*, chap. i. (p. 543 B).

was saved, and he obtained relief from his tumour through its bursting ; so oftentimes reviling launched upon a man by the prompting of anger or enmity cures some evil in his soul which either was not recognized or was disregarded by him. But most persons on being reviled do not stop to think whether the reproach is applicable to themselves, but they try to think what other form of reproach is applicable to the reviler, and, just as wrestlers do not wipe the dust from off their own bodies, so these persons do not wipe off the revilings from themselves, but they besmear one another, and in consequence get besmirched and begrimed by each other as they grapple together. But it is more imperative that the man who is ill spoken of by an enemy should rid himself of the attribute in question, than that he should get rid of a stain on his clothes to which his attention has been called ; and if anybody mentions things which are not really attributes of ours, we should nevertheless seek to learn the cause which has given rise to such slanderous assertions, and we must exercise vigilance, for fear that we unwittingly commit some error either approximating or resembling the one mentioned. For example, an unwarranted suspicion of unmanliness was aroused against Lacydes, king of the Argives, by a certain arrangement of his hair and a mincing gait, and Pompey[a] suffered in the same way on account of his habit of scratching his head with one finger, although he was very far removed from effeminacy and licentiousness. Crassus[b] incurred the charge of being too intimate with one of the Vestal virgins, when he only wanted to buy from her a piece of good land, and for this reason had many private

ἰδίᾳ καὶ θεραπεύων. Ποστουμίαν δὲ τὸ γελᾶν
F προχειρότερον καὶ λαλιᾷ χρῆσθαι θρασυτέρᾳ πρὸς ἄνδρας διέβαλεν, ὥστε κριθῆναι φθορᾶς. εὑρέθη μὲν οὖν καθαρὰ τῆς αἰτίας, ἀπολύσας δ' αὐτὴν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Σπόριος Μινούκιος ὑπέμνησε μὴ χρῆσθαι λόγοις ἀσεμνοτέροις τοῦ βίου. Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ Παυσανίας μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι προσετρίψατο τὴν ὑποψίαν τῆς προδοσίας διὰ τὸ χρῆσθαι φίλῳ καὶ γράφειν συνεχῶς καὶ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτόν.

7. Ὅταν οὖν λεχθῇ τι μὴ ἀληθές, οὐχ ὅτι ψεῦδός ἐστι δεῖ καταφρονεῖν καὶ ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖν τί τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ λεγομένων ἢ πραττομένων ἢ σπου-
90 δαζομένων ἢ συνόντων ὁμοιότητα τῇ διαβολῇ παρέσχηκε, καὶ τοῦτο διευλαβεῖσθαι καὶ φεύγειν. εἰ γὰρ ἕτεροι πράγμασιν ἀβουλήτοις περιπεσόντες διδάσκονται τὸ χρήσιμον, ὥσπερ ἡ Μερόπη φησίν

αἱ τύχαι δέ με
μισθὸν λαβοῦσαι τῶν ἐμῶν τὰ φίλτατα
σοφὴν ἔθηκαν,

τί κωλύει διδάσκαλον ἄμισθον λαβόντα τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὠφεληθῆναι καὶ μαθεῖν τι τῶν λανθανόντων; πολλὰ γὰρ ὁ ἐχθρὸς αἰσθάνεται τοῦ φίλου μᾶλλον ("τυφλοῦται" γὰρ "τὸ φιλοῦν περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον," ὡς ὁ Πλάτων φησί), τῷ δὲ μισεῖν μετὰ τοῦ πολυ-
B πραγμονεῖν καὶ τὸ λαλεῖν ἔνεστιν. ὁ Ἱέρων ὑπό

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[a] A Vestal virgin; *cf.* Livy, iv. 44.

[b] Thucydides, i. 135; *cf.* also Plutarch, *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xxiii. (p. 123 c).

[c] From the *Cresphontes* of Euripides; Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 458.

[d] Plato, *Laws*, p. 731 E. The quotation is repeated a few pages farther on (92 E), and also in the *Moralia*, 48 E and 1000 A.

interviews with her and paid her much attention. Again, Postumia's [a] ready laughter and overbold talk in men's company put her under unjust suspicion, so that she was tried for unchastity. She was found innocent of the charge, but in dismissing her the Pontifex Maximus, Spurius Minucius, reminded her that the language she used should have no less dignity than her life. And again Pausanias inflicted on Themistocles,[b] who was doing nothing wrong, the suspicion of treason by treating him as a friend, and by writing and sending messages to him continually.

7. Whenever, then, anything untrue has been said, you must not despise and disregard it just because it is false, but rather consider what word or act of yours, which of your pursuits or associations, has given colour to the calumny, and then be studiously careful to avoid it. For if others by becoming involved in undesired situations thereby learn a useful lesson—just as Merope says that

> Inconstant Fortune took from me,
> To pay her fee, the dearest that I had,
> But she for that hath made me wise [c]—

what is to hinder a man from taking his enemy as his teacher without fee, and profiting thereby, and thus learning, to some extent, the things of which he was unaware? For there are many things which an enemy is quicker to perceive than a friend (for Love is blind regarding the loved one, as Plato [d] says), and inherent in hatred, along with curiosity, is the inability to hold one's tongue. Hiero [e] was reviled by

[e] The story is repeated in the *Moralia*, 175 B, and elsewhere by other writers. One author tells it of Gelon.

(90) τινος τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰς τὴν δυσωδίαν ἐλοιδορήθη τοῦ στόματος. ἐλθὼν οὖν οἴκαδε πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα "τί λέγεις;" εἶπεν, "οὐδὲ σύ μοι τοῦτ' ἔφρασας." ἡ δ' οὖσα σώφρων καὶ ἄκακος "ᾤμην," εἶπεν, "ὅτι τοιοῦτο πάντες ὄζουσιν οἱ ἄνδρες." οὕτω καὶ τὰ αἰσθητικὰ καὶ τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ τὰ καταφανῆ πᾶσι παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μαθεῖν πρότερον ἔστιν ἢ τῶν φίλων καὶ συνήθων.

8. Ἄνευ δὲ τούτου τὴν περὶ τὴν[1] γλῶτταν ἐγκράτειαν, οὐ μικρὸν ἀρετῆς μέρος οὖσαν, ὑπήκοον
C ἀεὶ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ πειθήνιον ἔχειν οὐκ ἔνεστιν, ἂν μή τις ἀσκήσει καὶ μελέτῃ καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ τὰ κάκιστα τῶν παθῶν, οἷόν ἐστιν ἡ ὀργή, κατεργάσηται. ἡ γὰρ "ἀκουσίως ἐκπίπτουσα φωνὴ" καὶ τὸ

ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων,

καὶ τὸ

ἔνια ἐξίπτασθαι τῶν ῥημάτων αὐτόματα

τοῖς ἀνασκήτοις μάλιστα θυμοῖς οἷον ὀλισθάνουσι καὶ διαρρέουσιν ἐπιγίγνεται δι' ἀσθένειαν θυμοῦ, δι' ἀκρατῆ γνώμην, διὰ δίαιταν θρασεῖαν.[2] λόγου δὲ κουφοτάτου πράγματος βαρυτάτη ζημία κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Πλάτωνα καὶ παρὰ θεῶν ἕπεται καὶ παρ'
D ἀνθρώπων. ἡ δὲ σιγὴ πανταχοῦ μὲν ἀνυπεύθυνον (οὐ μόνον ἄδιψον, ὥς φησιν Ἱπποκράτης), ἐν

[1] περὶ τὴν Stobaeus, *Flor.* xxiii. 9: περὶ.
[2] διὰ δίαιταν θρασεῖαν F.C.B.: διαίτῃ θρασείᾳ.

[a] A picturesque expression several times used by Homer;

one of his enemies for his offensive breath; so when he went home he said to his wife, "What do you mean? Even you never told me of this." But she being virtuous and innocent said, "I supposed that all men smelt so." Thus it is that things which are perceptible, material, and evident to all the world, may sooner be learned from our enemies than from our friends and close associates.

8. But, quite apart from this, control over the tongue, which is no small part of virtue, is something which it is impossible to keep always in subjection and obedience to the reasoning faculties, unless a man by training, practice, and industry has mastered the worst of his emotions, such as anger, for example. For the "voice that slips out unintended,"[a] and the

> Word that has 'scaped the lips' prison,[a]

and

> Some of the sayings that flit forth of themselves,[a]

are all incident to temperaments that are quite untrained, and are unsteady and fluctuating, so to speak, owing to weakness of will, headstrong opinions, and a reckless way of living. Just for a word, the lightest thing in the world, is ordained, according to the divine Plato,[b] heaviest punishment, coming from both gods and men. But silence cannot under any circumstances be called to an accounting (it is more than a preventive of thirst, as Hippocrates[c] says of it), and in the midst of reviling it is

e.g. Il. iv. 350; xiv. 83; *Od.* i. 64; xxiii. 70. The source of the other two quotations is unknown.

[b] Plato, *Laws*, pp. 717 c and 935 A. Plutarch quotes it again in *Moralia*, 456 D and 505 C.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 515 A.

(90) δὲ λοιδορίαις[1] σεμνὸν καὶ Σωκρατικόν, μᾶλλον δ' Ἡράκλειον, εἴ γε κἀκεῖνος

οὐδ' ὅσσον μυίας στυγερῶν ἐμπάζετο μύθων.

οὔτι[2] μὴν τούτου σεμνότερον καὶ κάλλιόν ἐστι, τοῦ[3] λοιδοροῦντος ἐχθροῦ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν

λισσάδα πέτραν
φιλοκέρτομον ὣς παρανηχομένους,

ἀλλὰ μείζων ἡ ἄσκησις. ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἐθισθῇς λοιδοροῦντα φέρειν σιωπῇ, πάνυ ῥᾳδίως οἴσεις γυναικὸς ὁρμὴν[4] κακῶς λεγούσης, καὶ φίλου φωνὰς καὶ ἀδελφοῦ πικροτάτας ἀκούων ὑπομενεῖς ἀθορύβως· πατρὶ δὲ καὶ μητρὶ τυπτόμενος καὶ βαλλόμενος
E παρέξεις ἄθυμον καὶ ἀμήνιτον σεαυτόν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Σωκράτης ἔφερε τὴν Ξανθίππην θυμοειδῆ καὶ χαλεπὴν οὖσαν, ὡς εὐκόλως συνεσόμενος ἑτέροις, ἂν ἐκείνην ὑπομένειν ἐθισθῇ· πολὺ δὲ βέλτιον ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἐγγυμνασάμενον βδελυρίαις καὶ ὀργαῖς καὶ σκώμμασι καὶ λοιδορίαις ἐθίσαι τὸν θυμὸν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν μηδ' ἀσχάλλειν ἐν τῷ λοιδορεῖσθαι.

9. Πραότητα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀνεξικακίαν οὕτως ἔστιν ἐνεπιδείξασθαι ταῖς ἔχθραις, ἁπλότητα δὲ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην καὶ χρηστότητα μᾶλλον ἢ[5] ταῖς
F φιλίαις. φίλον μὲν γὰρ οὐχ οὕτω τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν καλόν, ὡς αἰσχρὸν τὸ μὴ ποιεῖν δεόμενον· ἐχθροῦ

[1] λοιδορίαις Stob. *Flor.* xix. 7: λοιδορίᾳ.
[2] οὔτι Madvig: οὔτε.
[3] τοῦ Reiske: τὸ: both confirmed by the Syriac version.
[4] ὀργὴν Wyttenbach.
[5] ἢ Amyot (confirmed by the Syriac version): ἐν.

[a] Source unknown; the story in Pausanias, v. 14, is not to the point.
[b] The source of the quotation is not known.

dignified and Socratic, or rather Heraclean, if it be true that Heracles

> Not so much as to a fly gave heed to words of hatred.[a]

Indeed, there is nothing more dignified and noble than to maintain a calm demeanour when an enemy reviles one,

> Passing by a man's scoffs
> Just as swimmers swim past a precipitous rock,[b]

but far more important is the practice. If you once acquire the habit of bearing an enemy's abuse in silence, you will very easily bear up under a wife's attack when she rails at you, and without discomposure will patiently hear the most bitter utterances of a friend or a brother; and when you meet with blows or missiles at the hands of a father or mother, you will show no sign of passion or wrath. For instance, Socrates bore with Xanthippe,[c] who was irascible and acrimonious, for he thought that he should have no difficulty in getting along with other people if he accustomed himself to bear patiently with her; but it is much better to secure this training from the scurrilous, angry, scoffing, and abusive attacks of enemies and outsiders, and thus accustom the temper to be unruffled and not even impatient in the midst of reviling.

9. In this manner, then, it is possible for us to display the qualities of gentleness and forbearance in connexion with our enmities, and also straightforwardness, magnanimity, and goodness better than in our friendships. For it is not so honourable to do a good turn to a friend as it is disgraceful not to do it when he is in need; but even to forgo taking

[c] Xenophon, *Symposium*, 2. 10.

δὲ καὶ τὸ τιμωρίαν παραλιπεῖν ἐν καιρῷ παρασχόντος ἐπιεικές ἐστι. τὸν δὲ καὶ πταίσαντι συμπαθήσαντα καὶ δεηθέντι συλλαβόμενον καὶ παισὶν ἐχθροῦ καὶ οἰκείοις πράγμασιν[1] *ἐν χρείᾳ γενομένοις σπουδήν τινα καὶ προθυμίαν ἐνδειξάμενον ὅστις οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ τῆς εὐμενείας οὐδ' ἐπαινεῖ τὴν χρηστότητα, ἐκεῖνος*

ἐξ ἀδάμαντος
91 *ἢ σιδάρου κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν καρδίαν.*

Τῷ Καίσαρι *κελεύσαντι τὰς* Πομπηίου *τιμὰς ἀνασταθῆναι καταβεβλημένας ὁ* Κικέρων "*τοὺς* Πομπηίου," *φησίν*, "*ἀνδριάντας ἀνέστησας, τοὺς δὲ σοὺς ἔπηξας.*" *ὅθεν οὐδ' ἐπαίνου φειστέον οὐδὲ τιμῆς περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἐχθροῦ δικαίως εὐδοκιμήσαντος. ἔπαινόν τε γὰρ φέρει μείζονα τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι, καὶ πίστιν ἔχει πάλιν ἐγκαλῶν, ὡς οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μισῶν ἀλλὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀποδοκιμάζων· τὸ*
B *δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ χρησιμώτατον, ἀπωτάτω καθίσταται τοῦ φθονεῖν καὶ φίλοις εὐτυχοῦσι καὶ κατορθοῦσιν οἰκείοις ὁ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐθισθεὶς ἐπαινεῖν καὶ μὴ δάκνεσθαι μηδὲ βασκαίνειν εὖ πραττόντων. καίτοι τίς ἄσκησις ἑτέρα μείζονα ὠφέλειαν ἐνεργάζεται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἢ διάθεσιν κρείττονα τῆς ἀφαιρούσης τὸ δύσζηλον ἡμῶν καὶ φιλόφθονον; ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ πολλὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἄλλως δὲ φαύλων ἔθους λαβόντα καὶ νόμου*

[1] *πράγμασιν*] *χρημάτων* Hartman.

[a] Part of a longer fragment of Pindar; *cf.* Pindar, *Frag.* 123 (ed. Christ); quoted again by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 558 A.

[b] Plutarch repeats this story in *Moralia*, 205 D; *Life of Caesar*, chap. lvii. (p. 734 E), and *Life of Cicero*, chap. xl. (p. 881 D). *Cf.* Suetonius, *Caesar*, 75.

vengeance on an enemy when he offers a good opportunity is a handsome thing to do. But in case a man shows compassion for an enemy in affliction, and gives a helping hand to him when he has come to be in need, and displays some concern and zeal in behalf of his children and his household affairs when they come to want, I say that whosoever does not feel affection for such a man because of his kindliness, or does not commend his goodness,

> Hath a black heart
> Forged from adamant or else from steel.[a]

When Caesar gave orders that the statues in honour of Pompey, which had been thrown down, should be restored, Cicero[b] said to him, "You have restored Pompey's statues, but you have made your own secure." Wherefore there must be no scanting of commendation or due honour in the case of an enemy who has justly gained a fair repute. For such an attitude wins greater commendation for those who bestow it, and inspires confidence, when later a man makes a complaint that he does so, not because he hates the person, but because he disapproves of the action. But best of all, and most advantageous, is the fact that a man is farthest removed from envying the good fortune of his friends or the success of his relatives, if he has acquired the habit of commending his enemies, and feeling no pang and cherishing no grudge when they prosper. And yet what other process of training produces greater benefit to our souls or a better disposition, than does that which takes from us all our jealousy and our proneness to envy? Just as many of the things which are necessary in war, but bad under other conditions, when they once acquire the sanction of custom and law,

(91) δύναμιν οὐκ ἔστι ῥᾳδίως ἀπώσασθαι καὶ βλαπτομένους, οὕτως ἡ ἔχθρα συνεισάγουσα τῷ μίσει φθόνον, ζηλοτυπίαν ἐπιχαιρεκακίαν μνησικακίαν ἐναπολείπει. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ πανουργία καὶ
C ἀπάτη καὶ ἐπιβουλή, δοκοῦσα μὴ φαῦλον εἶναι μηδ' ἄδικον πρὸς ἐχθρόν, ἂν ἐγγένηται, παραμένει δυσαπάλλακτος· εἶτα χρῶνται πρὸς τοὺς φίλους αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ συνηθείας, ἂν μὴ φυλάξωνται πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθρούς. εἴπερ οὖν ὀρθῶς ὁ Πυθαγόρας, ἐν ἀλόγοις ζῴοις ἐθίζων ὠμότητος ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ πλεονεξίας, ὀρνέων τε θηρευτὰς παρῃτεῖτο καὶ βόλους ὠνούμενος ἰχθύων ἐκέλευεν ἀφιέναι, καὶ παντὸς ἡμέρου ζῴου φόνον ἀπηγόρευε, πολὺ δήπου σεμνότερόν
D ἐστιν ἐν διαφοραῖς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους καὶ φιλονεικίαις, γενναῖον ἐχθρὸν ὄντα καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ἀψευδῆ, τὰ μοχθηρὰ καὶ ἀγεννῆ καὶ πανοῦργα πάθη κολάζειν καὶ ταπεινὰ ποιεῖν, ὅπως ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους συμβολαίοις παντάπασιν ἀτρεμῇ καὶ ἀπέχηται τοῦ κακουργεῖν. Σκαῦρος ἐχθρὸς ἦν Δομιτίου καὶ κατήγορος. οἰκέτης οὖν τοῦ Δομιτίου πρὸ τῆς δίκης ἧκε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς ἔχων τι μηνῦσαι τῶν λανθανόντων ἐκεῖνον, ὁ δ' οὐκ εἴασεν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ συλλαβὼν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπήγαγε πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην. Κάτωνι δὲ Μουρήναν διώκοντι δημοκοπίας καὶ συνάγοντι τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἐξ ἔθους

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 729 E.

[b] For the facts see Cicero, *Oration for King Deiotarus*, 11 (31).

cannot easily be abolished by the people even though the people are being injured by them, so enmity introduces envy along with hatred, and leaves as a residue jealousy, joy over others' misfortunes, and vindictiveness. Moreover, knavery, deceit, and intrigue, which seem not bad or unjust when employed against an enemy, if once they find a lodgement, acquire a permanent tenure, and are hard to eject. The next thing is that men of themselves employ these against their friends through force of habit, unless they are on their guard against using them against their enemies. If then Pythagoras[a] was right when, in trying to accustom men to refrain from cruelty and rapacity in connexion with dumb animals, he used to intercede with fowlers, and buy up catches of fish and direct that they be released, and forbid the killing of any domesticated animal, it is surely a grander achievement by far, in disagreements and contentions with human beings, for a man to be a noble, honest, and ingenuous enemy, and to repress and put down his base, ignoble, and knavish propensities, so that in his dealings with his friends he may be always steadfast and may keep himself from wrongdoing. Scaurus was an enemy of Domitius and his accuser before the law.[b] Now a servant of Domitius came to Scaurus before the trial, claiming to have information on some matters that had escaped Scaurus's knowledge, but Scaurus would not let him speak, and caused the man to be arrested and taken back to his master. When Cato was prosecuting Murena for corrupt political practices and was getting together his evidence, there followed him, in accordance with the usage of the

παρηκολούθουν οἱ τὰ πραττόμενα παραφυλάττοντες.
E *πολλάκις οὖν αὐτὸν ἠρώτων εἴ τι μέλλει σήμερον συνάγειν ἢ πραγματεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ φαίη, πιστεύοντες ἀπῄεσαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ τῆς δόξης ἔχει τεκμήριον μέγιστον· ἀλλὰ μεῖζον καὶ κάλλιστον, ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἐχθροὺς ἐθισθέντες οὐδέποτε μὴ προσενεχθῶμεν ἀδίκως καὶ πανούργως τοῖς συνήθεσι καὶ φίλοις.*

10. *Ἐπεὶ δὲ*

> *πάσαις*[1] *κορυδαλλίσι χρὴ λόφον ἐγγενέσθαι*

κατὰ τὸν Σιμωνίδην, καὶ πᾶσα φύσις ἀνθρώπου φέρει φιλονεικίαν καὶ ζηλοτυπίαν καὶ φθόνον,

F *κενεοφρόνων ἀνδρῶν ἑταῖρον,*

ὥς φησι Πίνδαρος, οὐ μετρίως ἄν τις ὠφελοῖτο τῶν παθῶν τούτων ποιούμενος εἰς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀποκαθάρσεις καὶ ἀποστρέφων ὥσπερ ὀχετοὺς πορρωτάτω τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ οἰκείων. καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς ἔοικε, συνιδὼν πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ ὄνομα Δῆμος,[2] *ἐν Χίῳ τῆς κρατούσης μερίδος ἐν στάσει γενόμενος, παρῄνει τοῖς ἑταίροις μὴ πάντας ἐξελάσαι τοὺς ἀντιστασιάσαντας, ἀλλ' ὑπολιπέσθαι τινάς,*
92 *"ὅπως," ἔφη, "μὴ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀρξώμεθα*

[1] *πάσαις* Bergk: *πάσαισι*.

[2] *ὄνομα Δῆμος*, which has but slight MS. authority, is confirmed by the Syriac version: *Ὀνομάδημος* in most MSS. *Δῆμος* was used as a proper name, but there is no evidence for *Ὀνομάδημος* except here and *Moralia* 813 A.

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[a] Explained more fully in the *Life of Cato Minor*, chap. xxi. (p. 769 B), where the story is repeated.

[b] Repeated by Plutarch in *Moralia*, 809 B, and in the *Life*

time,[a] men who watched what was being done. Very often they would ask him if he was intending that day to gather evidence or to do any work on the case, and if he said "No," they believed him and went away. In these facts may be found the greatest proof of Cato's repute; but it is a greater thing, and indeed the noblest, that, if we acquire the habit of practising honesty in dealing even with our enemies, we shall never deal dishonestly and knavishly with our intimate associates and friends.

10. But since

On every lark a crest must grow,

as Simonides[b] puts it, and since all human nature bears its crop of contention, jealousy, and envy,

Boon comrade of rattle-brained men,

as Pindar[c] says, a man would profit in no moderate degree by venting these emotions upon his enemies, and turning the course of such discharges,[d] so to speak, as far away as possible from his associates and relatives. This fact, as it seems, a statesman, Demus by name,[e] apprehended: when he found himself on the winning side in a civic strife in Chios, he advised his party associates not to banish all their opponents, but to leave some of them behind, "in order," he said, "that we may not begin to quarrel

of Timoleon, chap. xxxvii. (253 E), with much the same application. *Cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 418, Simonides. No. 68; Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica*, ii. p. 62; Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* (in L.C.L.), ii. p. 278, all differing in their reading of this one line.

[c] *Frag.* 212 (ed. Christ).

[d] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, i. 4. 6.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 813 A, where the story is repeated almost word for word.

(92) διαφέρεσθαι, τῶν ἐχθρῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαλλαγέντες." οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμῶν καταναλισκόμενα ταῦτα τὰ πάθη πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἧττον ἐνοχλήσει τοῖς φίλοις. οὐ γὰρ "κεραμεῖ" δεῖ "κεραμέα φθονεῖν" οὐδ' "ἀοιδὸν ἀοιδῷ" καθ' Ἡσίοδον, οὐδὲ γείτονα ζηλοῦν οὐδ' ἀνεψιὸν οὐδ' ἀδελφὸν "εἰς ἄφενος σπεύδοντα" καὶ τυγχάνοντα χρηστῶν πραγμάτων. ἀλλ' εἰ μηδεὶς τρόπος ἐστὶν ἄλλος ἀπαλλαγῆς
B ἐρίδων καὶ φθόνων καὶ φιλονεικιῶν, ἔθιζε σεαυτὸν δάκνεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐημερούντων, καὶ παρόξυνε καὶ χάραττε τὸ φιλόνεικον ἐν ἐκείνοις θηγόμενον. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ χαρίεντες γεωργοὶ τὰ ῥόδα καὶ τὰ ἴα βελτίω ποιεῖν νομίζουσι σκόροδα καὶ κρόμμυα παραφυτεύοντες (ἀποκρίνεται γὰρ εἰς ἐκεῖνα πᾶν ὅσον ἔνεστι τῇ τροφῇ δριμὺ καὶ δυσῶδες), οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ περισπῶν[1] τὸ κακόηθες καὶ βάσκανον, εὐμενέστερον παρέξει σε τοῖς φίλοις εὖ πράττουσι καὶ ἀλυπότερον. διὸ καὶ τὰς ἁμίλλας πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐστὶ ποιητέον ὑπὲρ δόξης ἢ ἀρχῆς ἢ πορισμῶν δικαίων, μὴ δακνομένους μόνον, ἄν τι πλέον ἡμῶν ἔχωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
C πάντα παραφυλάττοντας ἐξ ὧν πλέον ἔχουσι, καὶ πειρωμένους ὑπερβαλέσθαι ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις καὶ φιλοπονίαις καὶ τῷ σωφρονεῖν καὶ προσέχειν ἑαυτοῖς, ὡς Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔλεγεν οὐκ ἐᾶν αὐτὸν καθεύδειν τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι Μιλτιάδου νίκην. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐτυχίᾳ διαφέρειν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἡγούμενος ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἢ συνηγορίαις ἢ πολιτείαις ἢ παρὰ

[1] περισπῶν Bases and F.C.B.: περιέπων.

[a] The references are to the *Works and Days*, 25-26 and 27.
[b] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Life of Themistocles*, chap. iii. (p. 113 B), and *Moralia*, 84 B and 800 B.

with our friends, through being completely rid of our enemies." So also in our own case, if our emotions of this sort are expended upon our enemies, they will cause less annoyance to our friends. For "a potter" must not "envy potter," nor "a minstrel a minstrel," as Hesiod [a] puts it, nor must there be any feeling of rivalry against a neighbour or relative or brother who is "winning his way towards riches" and meeting with prosperity. But if there is no other way of getting rid of strifes, envies, and contentions, accustom yourself to feel the sting of resentment when your enemies enjoy health and happiness, and whet your contentiousness to a sharp jagged edge on these. For just as skilled gardeners believe that they improve their roses and violets by planting beside them garlic and onions (since whatever pungency and malod rousness there is in what the plants feed on is all drawn off into the vegetables), thus also your enemy, by taking up and diverting to himself your malice and jealousy, will render you more kindly and less disagreeable to your friends in their prosperity. For this reason it is with our enemies that we must also engage in rivalry for repute or office or honest money-getting, not only feeling the sting of resentment if they get the advantage of us, but also watching carefully every means by which they get the advantage, and trying to surpass them in painstaking, diligence, self-control, and self-criticism: after the manner of Themistocles, who said that Miltiades' victory at Marathon would not let him sleep.[b] For he who thinks that it is by mere good luck that his enemy surpasses him in public offices, in pleading cases, in state administration, or in his standing with friends

(92) φίλοις καὶ ἡγεμόσιν, ἐκ τοῦ πράττειν τι καὶ ζηλοῦν εἰς τὸ βασκαίνειν παντάπασι καὶ ἀθυμεῖν καταδυόμενος, ἀργῷ τῷ φθόνῳ καὶ ἀπράκτῳ σύνεστιν· ὁ δὲ μὴ τυφλούμενος περὶ τὸ μισούμενον ἀλλὰ καὶ βίου καὶ ἤθους καὶ λόγων καὶ ἔργων γιγνόμενος θεατὴς δίκαιος τὰ πλεῖστα κατόψεται
D τῶν ζηλουμένων ἐξ ἐπιμελείας καὶ προνοίας καὶ πράξεων χρηστῶν περιγιγνόμενα τοῖς κεκτημένοις, καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα συντείνων ἐπασκήσει τὸ φιλότιμον αὑτοῦ καὶ φιλόκαλον, τὸ δὲ χασμῶδες ἐκκόψει καὶ ῥᾴθυμον.

11. Εἰ δέ τινας οἱ ἐχθροὶ κολακεύοντες ἢ πανουργοῦντες ἢ δεκάζοντες ἢ μισθαρνοῦντες αἰσχρὰς καὶ ἀνελευθέρους δοκοῦσι καρποῦσθαι δυνάμεις ἐν αὐλαῖς ἢ πολιτείαις, οὐκ ἐνοχλήσουσιν ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εὐφρανοῦσι, τὴν αὑτῶν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἀνύβριστον ἀντιτιθέντας·
E "ἅπας" γὰρ "ὁ ὑπὲρ[1] γῆς καὶ ὑπὸ γῆς χρυσὸς ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἀντάξιος" κατὰ Πλάτωνα, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος ἔχειν ἀεὶ δεῖ πρόχειρον

> ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς οὐ διαμειψόμεθα
> τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον

οὐδέ γε βοὰς δεδειπνισμένων θεάτρων οὐδὲ τιμὰς καὶ προεδρίας παρ' εὐνούχοις καὶ παλλακαῖς καὶ σατραπείας[2] βασιλέων· ζηλωτὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ
F καλὸν ἐξ αἰσχροῦ φυόμενον. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τυφλοῦται

[1] ὑπὲρ] ἐπὶ Plato.

[2] σατραπείας F.C.B., and so apparently Shilleto in his translation: σατραπείαις.

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[a] *Cf.* the note on 90 A *supra*.

[b] Plato, *Laws*, p. 728 A; quoted also by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 1124 E.

and leading men, and who from activity and emulation sinks down into a state of utter jealousy and discouragement, has abiding with him an envy that is inert and ineffectual. If, however, a man is not blind[a] in regard to the object of his hatred, but makes himself an honest observer of the other's life, character, words, and deeds, he will discover that most of the successes which excite the envy of others come to those who have won them as the result of painstaking, forethought, and fair conduct, and so, bending all his energies in this direction, he will put into practice his own ambitions and high aspirations, and will eradicate his listlessness and indolence.

11. But even if our enemies by flattery, knavery, bribery, or hireling service appear to reap their reward in the form of dishonourable and sordid influence at court or in the government, they will not be a source of annoyance but rather of joy to us when we compare our own freedom, the simplicity of our life, and its immunity from scurrilous attack. For " all the gold on earth and beneath the earth is not worth so much as virtue," as Plato[b] says, and we must always keep ready in mind the sentiment of Solon[c]:

> But we will not take in exchange
> All of their wealth for our virtue,

nor yet the acclamations of spectators who have dined at our expense, nor honours such as front seats among eunuchs and concubines, and royal governorships; for nothing enviable or noble ever springs from dishonour. But since " love is blind regarding

[c] Quoted more fully in *Moralia*, 78 c, and as here, 472 E.

(92) *τὸ φιλοῦν περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν οἱ ἐχθροὶ παρέχουσιν αἴσθησιν ἀσχημονοῦντες, δεῖ μήτε τὸ χαῖρον ἐφ' οἷς ἁμαρτάνουσιν ἀργὸν εἶναι μήτε τὸ λυπούμενον ἐφ' οἷς κατορθοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπιλογίζεσθαι δι' ἀμφοτέρων ὅπως τὰ μὲν φυλαττόμενοι βελτίονες ὦμεν αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ μιμούμενοι μὴ χείρονες.*

the loved one," as Plato [a] says, and it is rather our enemies who by their unseemly conduct afford us an opportunity to view our own, neither our joy at their failures nor our sorrow at their successes ought to go without being employed to some purpose, but we should take into account both their failures and successes in studying how by guarding against the former we may be better than they, and by imitating the latter no worse.

[a] A reminiscence from Plato; see the note on 90 A *supra*.

ON HAVING MANY FRIENDS
(DE AMICORUM MULTITUDINE)

INTRODUCTION

Plutarch's essay on friendship may possibly have been offered on some occasion as a lecture, but there is nothing to prove or disprove this assumption. From what we know of Plutarch's relations to his friends we can well believe that he was singularly happy in his friendships, and hence well fitted to speak on the subject. He was familiar, too, with the literature dealing with friendship, and the result is an essay well worth reading. Cicero's essay on friendship (*De amicitia*) may profitably be compared with Plutarch's.

Two or three emendations of a more radical nature have been adopted in the text, in the effort to make it intelligible: for example, in 96 A the translation probably gives the right sense of the passage, as Wyttenbach seemed to see, but whether the emendation is right is more doubtful. Even more doubtful is Paton's *προσεντείνειν*, based on an even more dubious emendation of *ἐντείνασθαι* in the quotation from Euripides; for Plutarch would not be apt to refer to an aorist middle by a present active form. In these matters Plutarch was more careful than Paton.

93 ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΥΦΙΛΙΑΣ

1. Μένωνα τὸν Θετταλὸν οἰόμενον ἐν λόγοις ἱκανῶς γεγυμνάσθαι καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ
B Ἐμπεδοκλέους λεγόμενον

σοφίης[1] ἐπ' ἄκροισι θαμίζειν

ἠρώτησεν ὁ Σωκράτης τί ἀρετή ἐστιν· ἀποκριναμένου δ' ἰταμῶς ἐκείνου καὶ προχείρως ὅτι καὶ παιδός ἐστιν ἀρετὴ καὶ πρεσβύτου καὶ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ ἄρχοντος καὶ ἰδιώτου καὶ δεσπότου καὶ θεράποντος, "εὖ γ'," εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης, "ὅτι μίαν ἀρετὴν αἰτηθεὶς σμῆνος ἀρετῶν κεκίνηκας," οὐ κακῶς τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι μηδεμίαν εἰδὼς ἀρετὴν ὁ ἄνθρωπος[2] πολλὰς ὠνόμαζεν. ἆρ' οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ ἡμῖν ἄν τις ἐπιχλευάσειεν ὅτι μηδέπω
C μίαν φιλίαν κεκτημένοι βεβαίως φοβούμεθα μὴ λάθωμεν εἰς πολυφιλίαν ἐμπεσόντες; σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν διαφέρομεν ἀνθρώπου κολοβοῦ καὶ τυφλοῦ, φοβουμένου μὴ Βριάρεως ὁ ἑκατόγχειρ καὶ Ἄργος ὁ πανόπτης γένηται. καίτοι τόν γε παρὰ τῷ

[1] σοφίης in Sextus Empiricus: σοφίας.
[2] ὁ ἄνθρωπος] ἄνθρωπος Hercher: ἄνθρωπος.

ON HAVING MANY FRIENDS

1. Meno,[a] the Thessalian, who felt that he had had a good training in debating, and, to quote Empedocles' familiar expression, was

> Haunting the lofty heights of wisdom,[b]

was asked by Socrates what virtue is; and when he replied impulsively and promptly that there is a virtue appropriate to a child and to an old man, to a grown man and to a woman, to a public official and to a private citizen, to a master and to a servant, Socrates exclaimed, "A fine answer! for when asked for one virtue you have stirred up a whole swarm of virtues,"[c] inferring, not badly, that it was because the man knew not a single virtue that he was naming so many. And might not we also be subject to ridicule because we, who are not yet in secure possession of one friendship, are afraid that we may unwittingly become involved in a multitude of friendships? We hardly differ at all from a man who, being maimed or blind, is afraid that he may become a Briareus of the hundred hands or an Argus all-seeing. And yet we commend above measure

[a] Plato, *Meno*, 71 E.

[b] From a longer fragment; *cf.* Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 225.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 441 B.

(93) Μενάνδρῳ νεανίσκον ὑπερφυῶς ἐπαινοῦμεν εἰπόντα θαυμαστὸν ὅσον νομίζειν

ἀγαθὸν ἕκαστον, ἂν ἔχῃ φίλου σκιάν.

2. Ἐναντίον[1] δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων οὐχ ἥκιστα γ' εἰς φιλίας κτῆσιν ἡμῖν[2] ἡ τῆς πολυφιλίας ὄρεξις, ὥσπερ ἀκολάστων γυναικῶν, τῷ πολλάκις καὶ D πολλοῖς συμπλέκεσθαι τῶν πρώτων κρατεῖν μὴ δυναμένοις ἀμελουμένων καὶ ἀπορρεόντων· μᾶλλον δ' ὥσπερ ὁ τῆς Ὑψιπύλης τρόφιμος εἰς τὸν λειμῶνα καθίσας ἔδρεπεν

ἕτερον ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ αἰρόμενος
ἄγρευμ' ἀνθέων ἡδομένᾳ ψυχᾷ
τὸ νήπιον ἄπληστον[3] ἔχων,

οὕτως ἕκαστον ἡμῶν διὰ τὸ φιλόκαινον καὶ ἁψίκορον ὁ πρόσφατος ἀεὶ καὶ ἀνθῶν ἐπάγεται, καὶ μετατίθησι πολλὰς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀτελεῖς ἀρχὰς πράττοντας φιλίας καὶ συνηθείας, ἔρωτι τοῦ διωκομένου παρερχομένους τὸν καταλαμβανόμενον.

E Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἑστίας ἀρξάμενοι τῆς τοῦ βίου φήμης ἣν ὑπὲρ φίλων βεβαίων ἀπολέλοιπεν ἡμῖν, τὸν μακρὸν καὶ παλαιὸν αἰῶνα μάρτυρα ἅμα τοῦ λόγου καὶ σύμβουλον λάβωμεν, ἐν ᾧ κατὰ ζεῦγος φιλίας λέγονται Θησεὺς καὶ Πειρίθους, Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ Πάτροκλος, Ὀρέστης καὶ

[1] ἐναντίον Wyttenbach: αἴτιον.
[2] ἡμῖν added by F.C.B.
[3] ἄπληστον *Moralia*, 661 f.: ἄχρηστον.

[a] The *Epiclerus*. Kock, *Com. Attic. Frag.* iii., Menander, No. 554. See also Plutarch, *Moralia*, 479 c, where four lines of the play are quoted, and Allinson, *Menander* (in the L.C.L.), p. 493.

[b] *Cf.* Lucian, *Toxaris*, 37.

the youth in Menander's play [a] who says that any man counts it a marvellous good thing

If he but have the shadow of a friend.

2. One thing which stands out among many others, as particularly antagonistic to our acquisition of friendship, is the craving for numerous friends, which is like that of licentious women,[b] for because of our frequent intimacies with many different persons we cannot keep our hold on our earlier associates, who are neglected and drift away. A better comparison, perhaps, is the nursling of Hypsipyle, who seated himself in the meadow, and

One after another caught up
Handfuls of flowers with joyful heart,
But with childhood's yearning unsated.[c]

So it is with all of us: because anything new attracts us but soon palls on us, it is always the recent and freshly blooming friend that allures us and makes us change our minds, even while we are busy with many beginnings of friendship and intimacy at the same time, which go but little further, since, in our longing for the person we pursue, we pass over the one already within our grasp.

In the first place, then, let us begin at the hearthstone, as the saying is, with the story of men's lives which history [d] has left us regarding steadfast friends, and let us take as witness and counsellor in our discussion the long and distant ages in which are mentioned, as paired in the bond of friendship, Theseus and Peirithoüs, Achilles and Patroclus,

[c] Presumably from the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 754. *Cf.* also Plutarch, *Moralia*, 661 F.

[d] Plutarch is considering Greek history only.

Πυλάδης, Φιντίας καὶ Δάμων, Ἐπαμεινώνδας καὶ Πελοπίδας. σύννομον γὰρ ἡ φιλία ζῷον οὐκ ἀγελαῖόν ἐστιν οὐδὲ κολοιῶδες, καὶ τὸ ἄλλον αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν φίλον καὶ προσαγορεύειν ἑταῖρον ὡς ἕτερον, οὐδέν ἐστιν ἢ μέτρῳ φιλίας τῇ δυάδι χρωμένων. οὔτε γὰρ δούλους οὔτε φίλους ἔστι κτήσασθαι πολλοὺς ἀπ' ὀλίγου νομίσματος.
F τί οὖν νόμισμα φιλίας; εὔνοια καὶ χάρις μετ' ἀρετῆς, ὧν οὐδὲν ἔχει σπανιώτερον ἡ φύσις. ὅθεν τὸ σφόδρα φιλεῖν καὶ φιλεῖσθαι πρὸς πολλοὺς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ποταμοὶ πολλὰς σχίσεις καὶ κατατομὰς λαμβάνοντες ἀσθενεῖς καὶ λεπτοὶ ῥέουσιν, οὕτω τὸ φιλεῖν ἐν ψυχῇ σφοδρὸν πεφυκὸς εἰς πολλοὺς μεριζόμενον ἐξαμαυροῦται. διὸ καὶ τῶν ζῴων τὸ φιλότεκνον τοῖς μονοτόκοις ἰσχυρότερον
94 ἐμφύεται, καὶ Ὅμηρος ἀγαπητὸν υἱὸν ὀνομάζει "μοῦνον τηλύγετον," τουτέστι τὸν τοῖς μήτ'[1] ἔχουσιν ἕτερον γονεῦσι μήθ' ἕξουσι γεγενημένον.

3. Τὸν δὲ φίλον ἡμεῖς "μοῦνον" μὲν οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν εἶναι, μετ' ἄλλων δὲ "τηλύγετός" τις καὶ ὀψίγονος ἔστω, τὸν θρυλούμενον ἐκεῖνον χρόνῳ τῶν ἁλῶν συγκατεδηδοκὼς μέδιμνον, οὐχ ὥσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ φίλοι λεγόμενοι συμπιόντες ἅπαξ ἢ συσφαιρίσαντες ἢ συγκυβεύσαντες ἢ συγκαταλύσαντες, ἐκ πανδοκείου καὶ παλαίστρας καὶ ἀγορᾶς φιλίαν συλλέγουσιν.

[1] μήτ' Schellens: μή.

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[a] *Iliad*, ix. 482; *Odyssey*, xvi. 19.
[b] *Cf*. *Moralia*, 482 B; Cicero, *De amicitia*, 19 (67); Aristotle, *Eth. Nicom.* viii. 3.

Orestes and Pylades, Phintias and Damon, Epameinondas and Pelopidas. For friendship is a creature that seeks a companion ; it is not like cattle and crows that flock and herd together, and to look upon one's friend as another self and to call him "brother" as though to suggest "th'other," is nothing but a way of using duality as a measure of friendship. It is impossible to acquire either many slaves or many friends with little coin. What then is the coin of friendship? It is goodwill and graciousness combined with virtue, than which nature has nothing more rare. It follows, then, that a strong mutual friendship with many persons is impossible, but, just as rivers whose waters are divided among many branches and channels flow weak and thin, so affection, naturally strong in a soul, if portioned out among many persons becomes utterly enfeebled. This is the reason why, in the case of animals, love for their young is more strongly implanted by nature in those that give birth to but one at a time ; and Homer's [a] name for a beloved son is "the only one, child of our eld," that is to say, born to parents who neither have nor can ever have another child.

3. We do not maintain that our friend should be "the only one," but along with others let there be some "child of our eld" and "late-begotten," as it were, who has consumed with us in the course of time the proverbial bushel of salt,[b] not as is the fashion nowadays, by which many get the name of friend by drinking a single glass together, or by playing ball or gambling together, or by spending a night under the same roof, and so pick up a friendship from inn, gymnasium, or market-place.

(94) Ἐν δὲ ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ἡγεμονικῶν
B οἰκίαις πολὺν ὄχλον καὶ θόρυβον ἀσπαζομένων καὶ δεξιουμένων καὶ δορυφορούντων ὁρῶντες εὐδαιμονίζουσι τοὺς πολυφίλους. καίτοι πλείονάς γε μυίας ἐν τοῖς ὀπτανίοις αὐτῶν ὁρῶσιν. ἀλλ' οὔθ' αὗται τῆς λιχνείας οὔτ' ἐκεῖνοι τῆς χρείας ἐπιλιπούσης παραμένουσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ ἀληθινὴ φιλία τρία ζητεῖ μάλιστα, τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς καλόν, καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν ὡς ἡδύ, καὶ τὴν χρείαν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον (δεῖ γὰρ ἀποδέξασθαι κρίναντα καὶ χαίρειν συνόντα καὶ χρῆσθαι δεόμενον, ἃ πάντα πρὸς τὴν πολυφιλίαν ὑπεναντιοῦται, καὶ μάλιστά πως τὸ κυριώτατον ἡ κρίσις), σκεπτέον δὴ πρῶτον εἰ δυνατόν
C ἐστιν ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ δοκιμάσαι χορευτὰς συγχορευσομένους, ἐρέτας ὁμορροθήσοντας, οἰκέτας χρημάτων ἐπιτρόπους ἢ τέκνων παιδαγωγοὺς ἐσομένους, μήτι γε φίλους πολλοὺς εἰς ἀγῶνα πάσης τύχης συναποδυσομένους, ὧν ἕκαστος αὐτός θ' αὑτόν[1]

πράσσων[2] εὖ τίθησιν εἰς μέσον,
τοῦ δυστυχοῦς τε λαγχάνων οὐκ ἄχθεται.

οὔτε ναῦς γὰρ ἐπὶ τοσούτους ἕλκεται χειμῶνας εἰς θάλατταν, οὔτε χωρίοις θριγχοὺς καὶ λιμέσι προβάλλουσιν ἕρκη καὶ χώματα τηλικούτους προσ-
D δεχόμενοι κινδύνους καὶ τοσούτους, ὅσων ἐπαγγέλλεται φιλία καταφυγὴν καὶ βοήθειαν, ὀρθῶς

[1] Probably the first line had αὐτόν τε as the beginning, as Xylander saw, but Plutarch was apt to fit his quotations to his own words.

[2] πράσσων, the regular form in tragedy: πράττων.

[a] Author unknown; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, No. 366.

In the houses of rich men and rulers, the people see a noisy throng of visitors offering their greetings and shaking hands and playing the part of armed retainers, and they think that those who have so many friends must be happy. Yet they can see a far greater number of flies in those persons' kitchens. But the flies do not stay on after the good food is gone, nor the retainers after their patron's usefulness is gone. But true friendship seeks after three things above all else: virtue as a good thing, intimacy as a pleasant thing, and usefulness as a necessary thing, for a man ought to use judgement before accepting a friend, and to enjoy being with him and to use him when in need of him, and all these things stand in the way of one's having many friends; but most in the way is the first (which is the most important)—the approval through judgement. Therefore we must, in the first place, consider whether it is possible in a brief period of time to test dancers who are to dance together, or rowers who are to pull together, or servants who are to be guardians of property or attendants of children, let alone the testing of a multitude of friends who are to strip for a general contest with every kind of fortune, each one of whom

> Puts his successes with the common store,
> And shares in bad luck, too, without distress.[a]

For no ship is launched upon the sea to meet so many storms, nor do men, when they erect protecting walls for strongholds, and dams and moles for harbours, anticipate perils so numerous and so great as those from which friendship, rightly and surely tried,

(94) *καὶ βεβαίως ἐξετασθεῖσα· τῶν δ' ἀνεξετάστως παραρρυέντων ὥσπερ νομισμάτων ἀδοκίμων ἐλεγχομένων*

οἱ μὲν ἐστερημένοι
χαίρουσιν, οἱ δ' ἔχοντες εὔχονται φυγεῖν.

ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο χαλεπὸν καὶ οὐ ῥᾴδιον τὸ φυγεῖν ἢ ἀποθέσθαι δυσαρεστουμένην φιλίαν. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ σιτίον βλαβερὸν καὶ δυσχεραινόμενον οὔτε κατέχειν οἷόν τε μὴ λυποῦν καὶ διαφθεῖρον οὔτ' ἐκβάλλειν οἷον εἰσῆλθεν ἀλλ' εἰδεχθὲς καὶ συμπεφυρμένον καὶ ἀλλόκοτον, οὕτω φίλος πονηρὸς ἢ σύνεστι λυπῶν καὶ λυμαινόμενος,[1] *ἢ βίᾳ μετ'* E *ἔχθρας καὶ δυσμενείας ὥσπερ χολή τις ἐξέπεσε.*

4. *Διὸ δεῖ μὴ ῥᾳδίως προσδέχεσθαι μηδὲ κολλᾶσθαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι μηδὲ φιλεῖν τοὺς διώκοντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀξίους φιλίας διώκειν. οὐ γὰρ αἱρετέον πάντως τὸ ῥᾳδίως ἁλισκόμενον. καὶ γὰρ ἀπαρίνην καὶ βάτον ἐπιλαμβανομένην ὑπερβάντες καὶ διωσάμενοι βαδίζομεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλαίαν καὶ τὴν ἄμπελον. οὕτως ἀεὶ*[2] *μὴ τὸν εὐχερῶς περιπλεκόμενον ποιεῖσθαι συνήθη καλόν,*[3] *ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀξίοις σπουδῆς καὶ ὠφελίμοις αὐτοὺς περιπλέκεσθαι* F *δοκιμάζοντας.*

5. *῞Ωσπερ οὖν ὁ Ζεῦξις αἰτιωμένων αὐτόν τινων ὅτι ζωγραφεῖ βραδέως, "ὁμολογῶ," εἶπεν, "ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ γράφειν, καὶ γὰρ εἰς πολύν," οὕτω φιλίαν δεῖ καὶ συνήθειαν σῴζειν παρα-*

[1] *λυμαινόμενος* Hercher: *λυπούμενος.*
[2] *ἀεὶ*] *δεῖ* Wyttenbach.
[3] *καλὸν*: *καὶ φίλον* Wyttenbach.

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[a] From some play of Sophocles; it is cited again by

promises a refuge and protection. But when some thrust their friendship upon us without being tried, and are found to be like bad coins when put to the test,

> Those who are bereft rejoice,
> And those who have them pray for some escape.[a]

But here is the difficulty—that it is not easy to escape or to put aside an unsatisfactory friendship; but as harmful and disquieting food can neither be retained without causing pain and injury, nor ejected in the form in which it was taken in, but only as a disgusting and repulsive mess, so an unprincipled friend either causes pain and intense discomfort by his continued association, or else with accompanying enmity and hostility is forcibly ejected like bile.

4. We ought therefore not to accept readily chance acquaintances, or attach ourselves to them, nor ought we to make friends of those who seek after us, but rather we should seek after those who are worthy of friendship. For one should by no means take what can be easily taken. In fact we step over or thrust aside bramble and brier, which seize hold upon us, and make our way onward to the olive and the vine.[b] Thus it is always an excellent thing not to make an intimate acquaintance of the man who is ready with his embraces, but rather, of our own motion, to embrace those of whom we approve as worthy of our attention and useful to us.

5. Just as Zeuxis,[c] when some persons charged him with painting slowly, retorted by saying, "Yes, it takes me a long time, for it is to last long," so it is necessary to preserve friendship and intimacy by

Plutarch in *Moralia*, 768 E; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Sophocles, No. 779.
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 709 E.
[c] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Life of Pericles*, chap. xiii. (p. 159 D).

λαβόντας ἐν πολλῷ κριθεῖσαν. ἆρ' οὖν κρῖναι μὲν οὐκ ἔστι πολλοὺς φίλους ῥᾴδιον, συνεῖναι δὲ πολλοῖς ὁμοῦ ῥᾴδιον, ἢ καὶ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον; καὶ μὴν ἀπόλαυσίς ἐστιν ἡ συνήθεια τῆς φιλίας, καὶ τὸ ἥδιστον ἐν τῷ συνεῖναι καὶ συνδιημερεύειν·

οὐ μὲν γὰρ ζωοί γε φίλων ἀπάνευθεν ἑταίρων
βουλὰς ἑζόμενοι βουλεύσομεν.

95 *καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ὁ Μενέλαος*

οὐδέ κεν ἄλλο
ἄμμε[1] *διέκρινεν φιλέοντέ τε τερπομένω τε,*
πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ θανάτοιο μέλαν νέφος ἀμφεκάλυψε.

τοὐναντίον οὖν ἔοικεν ἡ καλουμένη πολυφιλία ποιεῖν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ συνάγει καὶ συνίστησι καὶ συνέχει καταπυκνοῦσα ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ φιλοφροσύναις

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ὀπὸς γάλα λευκὸν ἐγόμφωσεν καὶ ἔδησε

B *κατ' Ἐμπεδοκλέα (τοιαύτην γὰρ ἡ φιλία βούλεται ποιεῖν ἑνότητα καὶ σύμπηξιν), ἡ δὲ πολυφιλία διίστησι καὶ ἀποσπᾷ καὶ ἀποστρέφει, τῷ μετακαλεῖν καὶ μεταφέρειν ἄλλοτε πρὸς ἄλλον οὐκ ἐῶσα κρᾶσιν οὐδὲ κόλλησιν εὐνοίας ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ περιχυθείσῃ καὶ παγείσῃ γενέσθαι. τοῦτο δ' εὐθὺς*

[1] ἄλλο | ἄμμε] ἡμέας | ἄλλο Homeric MSS.

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[a] Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 77; the words are spoken by the ghost of Patroclus to Achilles.

[b] Homer, *Od.* iv. 178; Plutarch quotes the first two lines in *Moralia*, 54 F.

[c] Probably adapted by Empedocles from Homer, *Il.* v. 902; *cf.* Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 239.

adopting them only after spending a long time in passing judgement upon them. Is it, then, true that while it is not easy to pass judgement on a large number of friends, yet it is easy to associate with a large number at the same time, or is this also impossible? Now it is a fact that the enjoyment of friendship lies in its intimacy, and the pleasantest part of it is found in association and daily companionship:

> Never in life again shall we take counsel together
> Sitting apart from our comrades.[a]

And in regard to Odysseus, Menelaus says:

> Else there were nothing
> Which could have parted us twain in the midst of our love and enjoyment;
> No, not till Death's dark cloud had wrapped its shadow around us.[b]

Now what is commonly called having a multitude of friends apparently produces the opposite result. For friendship draws persons together and unites them and keeps them united in a close fellowship by means of continual association and mutual acts of kindness—

> Just as the fig-juice fastens the white milk firmly and binds it,

as Empedocles[c] puts it (for such is the unity and consolidation that true friendship desires to effect); but, on the other hand, having a multitude of friends causes disunion, separation, and divergence, since, by calling one hither and thither, and transferring one's attention now to this person, now to that, it does not permit any blending or close attachment of goodwill to take place in the intimacy which moulds itself about friendship and takes enduring

(95) ὑποβάλλει καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰς ὑπουργίας ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ δυσωπίαν· τὰ γὰρ εὔχρηστα τῆς φιλίας δύσχρηστα γίγνεται διὰ τὴν πολυφιλίαν.

> " ἄλλον τρόπον " γὰρ " ἄλλων[1] ἐγείρει φροντὶς ἀνθρώπων·"

οὔτε γὰρ αἱ φύσεις ἡμῶν ἐπὶ ταὐτὰ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς ῥέπουσιν, οὔτε τύχαις ὁμοτρόποις ἀεὶ σύνεσμεν· οἵ
C τε τῶν πράξεων καιροὶ καθάπερ τὰ πνεύματα τοὺς μὲν φέρουσι τοῖς δ' ἀντιπίπτουσι.

6. Καίτοι κἂν πάντες ἅμα τῶν αὐτῶν οἱ φίλοι δέωνται, χαλεπὸν ἐξαρκέσαι πᾶσι βουλευομένοις ἢ πολιτευομένοις ἢ φιλοτιμουμένοις ἢ ὑποδεχομένοις. ἂν δ' ἑνὶ καιρῷ διαφόροις πράγμασι καὶ πάθεσι προστυγχάνοντες ὁμοῦ παρακαλῶσιν ὁ μὲν πλέων συναποδημεῖν, ὁ δὲ κρινόμενος συνδικεῖν, ὁ δὲ κρίνων συνδικάζειν, ὁ δὲ πιπράσκων ἢ ἀγοράζων συνδιοικεῖν, ὁ δὲ γαμῶν συνθύειν, ὁ δὲ θάπτων συμπενθεῖν,

> πόλις δ' ὁμοῦ μὲν θυμιαμάτων γέμῃ,
> ὁμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων

D ἡ πολυφιλία. πᾶσι μὲν ἀμήχανον παρεῖναι, μηδενὶ δ' ἄτοπον, ἑνὶ δ' ὑπουργοῦντα προσκρούειν πολλοῖς ἀνιαρόν·

> οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀγαπῶν αὐτὸς ἀμελεῖθ' ἡδέως.

[1] ἄλλων Crusius: ἄλλον.

[a] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 721, Adespota, No. 99.

[b] The language here seems to be an amplification of Aristotle, *Ethica Nicom.* ix. 10.

[c] Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 4; cited by Plutarch also in *Moralia*, 169 D, 445 D, and 623 C.

form. This at once suggests also the inequality there must be and embarrassment about rendering services, since the very useful elements in friendship are rendered practically useless by having many friends. For

> In divers men solicitude excites conduct diverse.[a]

For neither do our natures tend in the same direction as our impulses, nor do we, day in and day out, meet with the same sort of fortune; and the occasions which prompt our various actions, like the winds, help some friends on their way, and are adverse to others.

6. But if all our friends want the same things at the same time, it is hard to satisfy all, in either their counsels, their public life, their ambitions, or their dispensing of hospitality. And if at one and the same time they chance to be occupied in diverse activities and experiences, and call upon us at the same instant, one to join him on a voyage to foreign parts, another to help him in defending a suit, another to sit with him as judge, another to help him in managing his buying and selling, another to help him to celebrate his wedding, another to mourn with him at a funeral,[b]

> The city is with burning incense filled;
> Full too of joyous hymns and doleful groans[c]

is the possession of a host of friends. It is impossible to be with them all, and unnatural to be with none, and yet to do a service to one alone, and thus to offend many, is a source of vexation;

> For fond affection does not brook neglect.[d]

[a] A line from Menander, cited also in *Moralia*, 491 C; *cf.* Kock, *Com. Attic. Frag.* iii. p. 213.

(95) Καίτοι τὰς ἀμελείας καὶ ῥᾳθυμίας τῶν φίλων πραότερον φέρουσι, καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἀπολογίας ἀμηνίτως δέχονται παρ' αὐτῶν "ἐξελαθόμην" "ἠγνόησα." ὁ δὲ λέγων "οὐ παρέστην σοι δίκην ἔχοντι, παριστάμην γὰρ ἑτέρῳ φίλῳ," καὶ "πυρέττοντά σ' οὐκ εἶδον, τῷ δεῖνι γὰρ φίλους ἑστιῶντι συνησχολούμην" αἰτίαν τῆς ἀμελείας τὴν ἑτέρων E ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενος οὐ λύει τὴν μέμψιν, ἀλλὰ προσεπιβάλλει ζηλοτυπίαν. ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ τὰς πολυφιλίας ἃ δύνανται παρέχειν μόνον ὡς ἔοικε σκοποῦσιν, ἃ δ' ἀνταπαιτοῦσι παρορῶσι, καὶ οὐ μνημονεύουσιν ὅτι δεῖ τὸν πολλοῖς εἰς ἃ δεῖται χρώμενον πολλοῖς δεομένοις ἀνθυπουργεῖν. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Βριάρεως ἑκατὸν χερσὶν εἰς πεντήκοντα φορῶν γαστέρας οὐδὲν ἡμῶν πλέον εἶχε τῶν ἀπὸ δυεῖν χεροῖν μίαν κοιλίαν διοικούντων, οὕτως ἐν τῷ φίλοις χρῆσθαι πολλοῖς[1] καὶ τὸ λειτουργεῖν πολλοῖς ἔνεστι καὶ τὸ συναγωνιᾶν καὶ τὸ συνασχολεῖσθαι καὶ συγκάμνειν. οὐ γὰρ Εὐριπίδῃ πειστέον λέγοντι

χρῆν γὰρ μετρίαν εἰς ἀλλήλους
φιλίαν[2] θνητοὺς ἀνακίρνασθαι
F καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν ψυχῆς,
εὔλυτα δ' εἶναι θέλγητρα[3] φρενῶν,
ἀπό τ' ὤσασθαι καὶ ξυντεῖναι,

καθάπερ πόδα νεὼς ἐνδιδόντι καὶ προσάγοντι ταῖς χρείαις τὴν φιλίαν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μέν, ὦ Εὐριπίδη,

[1] ἐν τῷ φίλοις χρῆσθαι πολλοῖς is perhaps more likely than Halm's ἐν τῷ πολλοῖς φίλοις χρῆσθαι: ἐν τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον.

[2] μετρίαν . . . φιλίαν: μετρίας . . . φιλίας Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 253.

[3] θέλγητρα, *ibid.* 256: στέργηθρα.

Yet people are more tolerant of acts of negligence and remissness on the part of their friends, and they accept from them without anger such excuses as "I forgot," "I didn't know." But the man who says, "I did not appear with you when your case was in court, for I was appearing with another friend," and "I did not come and see you when you had fever, for I was busy helping so-and-so to entertain some friends," thus alleging, as the reason for his inattention, his attention to others, does not absolve himself from blame, but only aggravates the trouble by arousing jealousy. But most people, apparently, look at the possession of a host of friends merely from the point of view of what such friendships are able to bestow, and overlook what these demand in return, forgetting that he who accepts the services of many for his needs must in turn render like service to many in their need. Therefore, just as Briareus in purveying for fifty bellies with an hundred hands had no advantage over us who manage one stomach with what two hands provide, so in making use of many friends is involved also serving many, and sharing in their anxieties, preoccupations, and troubles. For no credence is to be given to Euripides[a] when he says:

> In the friendship which mortals with each other form
> Moderation should rule, and it never should reach
> To the soul's inmost marrow; and easy to loose
> Should the spells ever be that are laid on the mind
> So to thrust them aside or to draw them close,

thus easing off one's friendship or hauling it close according to exigencies, like the sheet of a ship's sail. But let us, my dear Euripides, turn the applica-

[a] *Hippolytus*, 253.

μεταθῶμεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἔχθρας, καὶ κελεύωμεν "μετρίας" ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ "μὴ πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν ψυχῆς, εὔλυτα δ' εἶναι" μίση καὶ ὀργὰς
96 *καὶ μεμψιμοιρίας καὶ ὑπονοίας· ἐκεῖνο δὲ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν παραίνει τὸ Πυθαγορικὸν "μὴ πολλοῖς ἐμβάλλειν δεξιάν," τουτέστι μὴ πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι φίλους μηδὲ πολύκοινον μηδὲ πάνδημον ἀσπάζεσθαι φιλίαν, καὶ πρὸς ἕν' ἄν τις ᾖ μετὰ πολλῶν παθῶν εἰσιοῦσα,[1] ὧν τὸ μὴ[2] συναγωνιᾶν καὶ συνάχθεσθαι καὶ συμπονεῖν καὶ συγκινδυνεύειν πάνυ δύσοιστον τοῖς ἐλευθέροις καὶ γενναίοις ἐστίν.*

Τὸ δὲ τοῦ σοφοῦ Χίλωνος ἀληθές, ὃς πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα μηδένα ἔχειν ἐχθρόν "ἔοικας," ἔφη, "σὺ μηδὲ φίλον ἔχειν." αἱ γὰρ ἔχθραι ταῖς φιλίαις εὐθὺς ἐπακολουθοῦσι καὶ συμπλέκονται,
B *ἐπείπερ* (7) *οὐκ ἔστι φίλον μὴ συναδικεῖσθαι μηδὲ συναδοξεῖν μηδὲ συναπεχθάνεσθαι· οἱ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ τὸν φίλον εὐθὺς ὑφορῶνταί τε καὶ μισοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ φίλοι πολλάκις φθονοῦσί τε καὶ ζηλοτυποῦσι καὶ περισπῶσιν. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ τῷ Τιμησίᾳ περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας δοθεὶς χρησμὸς προηγόρευσε*

σμῆνα μελισσάων τάχα τοι καὶ σφῆκες ἔσονται,[3]

οὕτως οἱ φίλων ζητοῦντες ἑσμὸν ἔλαθον ἐχθρῶν σφηκιαῖς περιπεσόντες.

Καὶ οὐκ ἴσον ἄγει σταθμὸν ἐχθροῦ μνησικακία

[1] *καὶ πρὸς ἕν' ἄν τις ᾖ . . . εἰσιοῦσα* F.C.B. (*cf.* Aristotle, *Magna Moralia*, ii. 16): *καὶ πρὸς ἐναντίην* (or *ἐναντίαν*) *ᾖ* (or *ἡ*) . . . *εἰσιοῦσαν* (or *εἰσιοῦσα*).

[2] *μὴ* Hartman: *μὲν*.

[3] *σμῆνι* . . . *ἕπονται* Reiske.

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, vol. i. 12 E and the note.

tion of this advice to our enmities, and advise the use of "moderation" in our disagreements, "not reaching the soul's inmost marrow," and that hatred, anger, complainings, and suspicions be "easy to loose," and commend rather to us the Pythagorean [a] maxim, "not to clasp hands with many"; that is, not to make many friends nor to welcome a common and indiscriminate friendship, or even a friendship with one person, if the coming of any friendship into one's life brings with it many afflictions, wherein refusal to share the other's anxieties, burdens, toils, and dangers is altogether intolerable for free-born and generous persons.

There is truth in the remark of the wise Chilon,[b] who, in answer to the man who boasted of having no enemy, said, "The chances are that you have no friend either." For enmities follow close upon friendships, and are interwoven with them, inasmuch as (7) it is impossible for a friend not to share his friend's wrongs or disrepute or disfavour; for a man's enemies at once look with suspicion and hatred upon his friend, and oftentimes his other friends are envious and jealous, and try to get him away. As the oracle given to Timesias [c] about his colony prophesied:

Soon shall your swarms of honey-bees turn out to be hornets,

so, in like manner, men who seek for a swarm of friends unwittingly run afoul of hornets' nests of enemies.

Besides, the resentment of an enemy and the gratitude of a friend do not weigh equally in the

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 86 c, and Aulus Gellius, i. 3.

[c] *Cf.* the story told of Timesias by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 812 A.

(96) C καὶ φίλου χάρις. ὅρα δὲ τοὺς Φιλώτου καὶ Παρμενίωνος φίλους καὶ οἰκείους ἃ διέθηκεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἃ τοὺς Δίωνος Διονύσιος τοὺς Πλαύτου[a] Νέρων καὶ τοὺς Σηιανοῦ Τιβέριος στρεβλοῦντες καὶ ἀποκτιννύοντες. ὡς γὰρ τὸν Κρέοντα τῆς θυγατρὸς οὐδὲν ὁ χρυσὸς οὐδ' ὁ πέπλος ὠφέλει, τὸ δὲ πῦρ ἀναφθὲν αἰφνιδίως προσδραμόντα καὶ περιπτύξαντα κατέκαυσε καὶ συναπώλεσεν, οὕτως ἔνιοι τῶν φίλων οὐδὲν ἀπολαύσαντες εὐτυχούντων συναπόλλυνται δυστυχοῦσι. καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα πάσχουσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι[1] καὶ χαρίεντες, ὡς Θησεὺς τῷ Πειρίθῳ κολαζομένῳ καὶ δεδεμένῳ

αἰδοῦς ἀχαλκεύτοισιν ἔζευκται πέδαις,[2]

D ἐν δὲ τῷ λοιμῷ φησιν ὁ Θουκυδίδης τοὺς ἀρετῆς μάλιστα μεταποιουμένους συναπόλλυσθαι τοῖς φίλοις νοσοῦσιν· ἠφείδουν γὰρ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἰόντες παρὰ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους.

8. Ὅθεν οὕτω τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀφειδεῖν οὐ προσῆκον ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοις συνδέοντας αὐτὴν καὶ συμπλέκοντας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀξίοις τὴν αὐτὴν[3] κοινωνίαν φυλάττειν, τουτέστι τοῖς ὁμοίως φιλεῖν καὶ κοινωνεῖν δυναμένοις. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο πάντων μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἐναντίωμα πρὸς τὴν πολυφιλίαν, ὅτι τῇ φιλίᾳ

[1] φιλόσοφοι] φιλόφιλοι Michael, φιλόστοργοι Sauppe; but *cf.* 112 D *infra* for some justification of the MS. reading.

[2] αἰδοῦς . . . πέδαις is the reading in the other three places in which Plutarch quotes this line (MSS. here have πέδαις . . . πόδας), but it is not impossible that Plutarch may have adapted the line to suit his context, which seems to require ἀχαλκεύτοις συνέζευκται of Stephanus.

[3] αὐτὴν] αὐτῆς several MSS.

[a] Rubellius Plautus; *cf.* Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 57 ff., and Dio Cassius, lxii. 14.

balance. See what treatment Alexander meted out to the friends and family of Philotas and Parmenio, Dionysius those of Dion, Nero those of Plautus,[a] and Tiberius those of Sejanus,[b] torturing and killing them. For as the golden crown and the robe of Creon's daughter did not help Creon,[c] but, as he suddenly ran to her and clasped her in his arms, the fire, fastening upon him, burned him up and destroyed him as well as his daughter, so some persons without deriving any benefit from their friends' good fortunes, perish with them in their misfortunes. This is the experience especially of men of culture and refinement, as Theseus, for example, shared with Peirithoüs his punishment and imprisonment,

> Yoked fast in duty's bonds not forged by man,[d]

and Thucydides[e] asserts that in the pestilence those who had the highest claim to virtue perished with their friends who were ill; for they did not spare themselves in going, as they did, to visit those who had claims on their friendship.

8. For these reasons it is not a fit thing to be thus unsparing of our virtue, uniting and intertwining it now with one and now with another, but rather only with those who are qualified to keep up the same participation, that is to say, those who are able, in a like manner, to love and participate. For herein plainly is the greatest obstacle of all to having a multitude of friends, in that friendship comes into

[b] *Cf.* Tacitus, *Annals*, v. 7 ff., and Dio Cassius, lviii. 11-12.

[c] Euripides, *Medea*, 1136 ff.

[d] A line of Euripides, probably from the *Peirithoüs*, cited by Plutarch also in *Moralia*, 482 A, 533 A, and 763 F. *Cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 595.

[e] Thucydides, ii. 51.

γένεσις δι' ὁμοιότητός ἐστιν. ὅπου γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα[1] τὰς μίξεις πρὸς τὰ ἀνόμοια ποιεῖται μετὰ
E βίας ἀναγκαζόμενα καὶ ὀκλάζει καὶ ἀγανακτεῖ φεύγοντα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τοῖς δὲ συγγενέσι καὶ οἰκείοις ὁμοπαθεῖ κεραννύμενα καὶ προσίεται τὴν κοινωνίαν λείως καὶ μετ' εὐμενείας, πῶς οἷόν τε φιλίαν ἤθεσι διαφόροις ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ πάθεσιν ἀνομοίοις καὶ βίοις ἑτέρας προαιρέσεις ἔχουσιν; ἡ μὲν γὰρ περὶ ψαλμοὺς καὶ φόρμιγγας ἁρμονία δι' ἀντιφώνων ἔχει τὸ σύμφωνον, ὀξύτησι καὶ βαρύτησιν ἁμωσγέπως ὁμοιότητος ἐγγιγνομένης· τῆς δὲ φιλικῆς συμφωνίας ταύτης καὶ ἁρμονίας οὐδὲν ἀνόμοιον οὐδ' ἀνώμαλον οὐδ' ἄνισον εἶναι δεῖ μέρος, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἁπάντων ὁμοίως ἐχόντων
F ὁμολογεῖν[2] καὶ ὁμοβουλεῖν[2] καὶ ὁμοδοξεῖν[2] καὶ συνομοπαθεῖν,[2] ὥσπερ μιᾶς ψυχῆς ἐν πλείοσι διῃρημένης σώμασι.

9. Τίς οὖν ἐστιν οὕτως ἐπίπονος καὶ μετάβολος καὶ παντοδαπὸς ἄνθρωπος, ὥστε πολλοῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐξομοιοῦν καὶ προσαρμόττειν καὶ μὴ καταγελᾶν τοῦ Θεόγνιδος παραινοῦντος

πουλύποδος νόον[3] ἴσχε πολυχρόου,[3] ὃς ποτὶ πέτρῃ,
τῇ περ ὁμιλήσῃ,[3] τοῖος ἰδεῖν ἐφάνη;

καίτοι τοῦ πολύποδος αἱ μεταβολαὶ βάθος οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτὴν γίγνονται τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, στυφότητι καὶ μανότητι τὰς ἀπορροίας τῶν
97 πλησιαζόντων ἀναλαμβάνουσαν· αἱ δὲ φιλίαι τὰ

[1] ἄψυχα] ἄλογα Wyttenbach.

[2] Hartman would read all these as indicatives, ὁμολογεῖ, etc.

[3] πολύπου ὀργήν . . . πολυπλόκου . . . τῇ προσομιλήσῃ, in the MSS. of Theognis and also Athenaeus, p. 317 A. The

being through likeness. Indeed, if even the brute beasts are made to mate with others unlike themselves only by forcible compulsion, and crouch aside, and show resentment as they try to escape from each other, while with animals of their own race and kind they consort with mutual satisfaction, and welcome the participation with a ready goodwill, how then is it possible for friendship to be engendered in differing characters, unlike feelings, and lives which hold to other principles? It is true that the harmony produced on harp and lyre gets its consonance through tones of dissonant pitch, a likeness being somehow engendered between the higher and the lower notes; but in our friendship's consonance and harmony there must be no element unlike, uneven, or unequal, but all must be alike to engender agreement in words, counsels, opinions, and feelings, and it must be as if one soul were apportioned among two or more bodies.

9. What man is there, then, so indefatigable, so changeable, so universally adaptable, that he can assimilate and accommodate himself to many persons, without deriding the advice of Theognis[a] when he says:

> Copy this trait of the cuttle-fish, which changes its colour
> So as to seem to the eye like to the rock where it clings?

However, the changes in the cuttle-fish have no depth, but are wholly on the surface, which, owing to its closeness or looseness of texture, takes up the emanations from objects which come near to it;

[a] Verses 215-6, cited by Plutarch also in *Moralia*, 916 C and 978 E.

majority of MSS. of Plutarch have πολύφρονος instead of πολυχρόου.

(97) ἤθη ζητοῦσι συνεξομοιοῦν καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ τὰς διαθέσεις. Πρωτέως τινὸς οὐκ εὐτυχοῦς οὐδὲ πάνυ χρηστοῦ τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ'[1] ὑπὸ γοητείας ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἕτερον εἶδος ἐξ ἑτέρου μεταλλάττοντος ἐν ταὐτῷ πολλάκις, φιλολόγοις συναναγιγνώσκοντος καὶ παλαισταῖς συγκονιομένου καὶ φιλοθήροις συγκυνηγετοῦντος καὶ φιλοπόταις συμμεθυσκομένου καὶ πολιτικοῖς συναρχαιρεσιάζοντος, ἰδίαν ἤθους ἑστίαν οὐκ ἔχοντος. ὡς δὲ τὴν ἀσχημάτιστον οἱ φυσικοὶ καὶ
B ἀχρώματον οὐσίαν καὶ ὕλην λέγουσιν ὑποκειμένην καὶ τρεπομένην ὑφ' αὑτῆς νῦν μὲν φλέγεσθαι νῦν δ' ἐξυγραίνεσθαι, τοτὲ δ' ἐξαεροῦσθαι πήγνυσθαι δ' αὖθις, οὕτως ἄρα τῇ πολυφιλίᾳ ψυχὴν ὑποκεῖσθαι δεήσει πολυπαθῆ καὶ πολύτροπον καὶ ὑγρὰν καὶ ῥᾳδίαν μεταβάλλειν. ἀλλ' ἡ φιλία στάσιμόν τι ζητεῖ καὶ βέβαιον ἦθος καὶ ἀμετάπτωτον ἐν μιᾷ χώρᾳ καὶ συνηθείᾳ· διὸ καὶ σπάνιον καὶ δυσεύρετόν ἐστι φίλος βέβαιος.

[1] Hartman would omit ἀλλ'.

whereas friendships seek to effect a thorough-going likeness in characters, feelings, language, pursuits, and dispositions. Such varied adaptation were the task of a Proteus,[a] not fortunate and not at all scrupulous, who by magic can change himself often on the very instant from one character to another, reading books with the scholarly, rolling in the dust with wrestlers, following the hunt with sportsmen, getting drunk with topers, and taking part in the canvass of politicians, possessing no firmly founded character of his own. And as the natural philosophers say of the formless and colourless substance and material which is the underlying basis of everything and of itself turns into everything, that it is now in a state of combustion, now liquefied, at another time aeriform, and then again solid, so the possession of a multitude of friends will necessarily have, as its underlying basis, a soul that is very impressionable, versatile, pliant, and readily changeable. But friendship seeks for a fixed and steadfast character which does not shift about, but continues in one place and in one intimacy. For this reason a steadfast friend is something rare and hard to find.

[a] Homer, *Od.* iv. 383 ff.; Virgil, *Georgics*, iv. 387 ff.

CHANCE
(DE FORTUNA)

INTRODUCTION

In default of any information regarding Plutarch's short essay on Chance, we can only guess that it may have been delivered as a lecture, although Hartman denies such a possibility. The arguing of such subjects has always had a certain attraction for mankind until comparatively recent times, but the development of a more exact knowledge regarding psychology has in later years checked such discussions. Yet a knowledge of psychology will not detract from the interest and enjoyment of anyone who will read this essay.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΥΧΗΣ

1. Τύχη τὰ θνητῶν πράγματ', οὐκ εὐβουλία.[a]

πότερον οὐδὲ δικαιοσύνη τὰ θνητῶν πράγματα οὐδ' ἰσότης οὐδὲ σωφροσύνη οὐδὲ κοσμιότης, ἀλλ' ἐκ τύχης μὲν καὶ διὰ τύχην Ἀριστείδης ἐνεκαρτέρησε
D τῇ πενίᾳ, πολλῶν χρημάτων κύριος γενέσθαι δυνάμενος,[b] καὶ Σκιπίων Καρχηδόνα ἑλὼν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἔλαβεν οὔτ' εἶδε τῶν λαφύρων,[c] ἐκ τύχης δὲ καὶ διὰ τύχην Φιλοκράτης λαβὼν χρυσίον παρὰ Φιλίππου "πόρνας καὶ ἰχθῦς ἠγόραζε," καὶ Λασθένης καὶ Εὐθυκράτης ἀπώλεσαν Ὄλυνθον, "τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν";[d] ἀπὸ τύχης δ' ὁ μὲν Φιλίππου Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτός τε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀπείχετο γυναικῶν καὶ τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας ἐκόλαζεν, ὁ δὲ Πριάμου δαίμονι κακῷ καὶ τύχῃ χρησάμενος συνεκοιμᾶτο τῇ τοῦ ξένου γυναικί, καὶ λαβὼν
E αὐτὴν ἐνέπλησε πολέμου καὶ κακῶν τὰς δύο ἠπείρους; εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα γίγνεται διὰ τύχην, τί κωλύει

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[a] From Chaeremon: Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 782. *Cf.* Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, v. 9 (25).

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aristides*, chap. xxv. (p. 334 B).

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Moralia*, 200 B.

[d] Demosthenes, Or. xix. (*De falsa legatione*), 229 (p. 412).

CHANCE

1. Man's ways are chance and not sagacity.[a]

Is it true also that man's ways are not justice either, or equality, or self-control, or decorum, but was it the result of chance and because of chance that Aristeides[b] persevered in his poverty when he could have made himself master of great wealth, and that Scipio,[c] having captured Carthage, neither took nor saw any of the spoil? Was it the result of chance and because of chance that Philocrates,[d] having received money from Philip, "proceeded to spend it on trulls and trout," and was it due to chance that Lasthenes and Euthycrates lost Olynthus, "measuring happiness by their bellies and the most shameless deeds"?[e] Was it the result of chance that Alexander,[f] the son of Philip, forbore to touch the captive women himself and punished those who offered them insult, and, on the other hand, was it because the Alexander who was the son of Priam yielded to the dictates of an evil genius or of chance that he lay with the wife of his host, and by her abduction filled two of our three continents with war and woes? For if these things happen because

The money was the price of treason according to Demosthenes.

[e] Demosthenes, Or. xviii. (*De corona*), 296 (p. 324). These men also Demosthenes puts in his list of traitors.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxi. (p. 676 B ff.).

καὶ τὰς γαλᾶς καὶ τοὺς τράγους καὶ τοὺς πιθήκους συνέχεσθαι φάναι διὰ τύχην ταῖς λιχνείαις καὶ ταῖς ἀκρασίαις καὶ ταῖς βωμολοχίαις;

2. Εἰ δ' ἔστι σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀνδρεία, πῶς λόγον ἔχει μὴ εἶναι φρόνησιν, εἰ δὲ φρόνησις, πῶς οὐ καὶ εὐβουλίαν; ἡ γὰρ σωφροσύνη φρόνησίς τίς ἐστιν ὥς φασι, καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη τῆς φρονήσεως δεῖται παρούσης· μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν εὐβουλίαν γέ τοι καὶ φρόνησιν ἐν μὲν ἡδοναῖς ἀγαθοὺς παρεχομένην ἐγκράτειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην καλοῦμεν, ἐν δὲ κινδύνοις καὶ πόνοις καρτερίαν καὶ ἀνδραγαθίαν, ἐν δὲ κοινωνήμασι καὶ πολιτείαις εὐνομίαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην. ὅθεν εἰ τὰ τῆς εὐβουλίας
F ἔργα τῆς τύχης δικαιοῦμεν εἶναι, ἔστω τύχης καὶ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ τὰ τῆς σωφροσύνης, καὶ νὴ Δία τὸ κλέπτειν τύχης ἔστω καὶ τὸ βαλλαντιοτομεῖν καὶ τὸ ἀκολασταίνειν, καὶ μεθέμενοι τῶν οἰκείων λογισμῶν εἰς τὴν τύχην ἑαυτοὺς ἀφῶμεν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος πολλοῦ κονιορτὸν ἢ συρφετὸν ἐλαυνομένους καὶ[1] διαφερομένους. εὐβουλίας τοίνυν μὴ οὔσης οὐδὲ βουλὴν εἰκὸς εἶναι περὶ πραγμάτων οὐδὲ σκέψιν οὐδὲ ζήτησιν τοῦ συμφέροντος, ἀλλ' ἐλήρησεν εἰπὼν ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ὅτι

98 πᾶν τὸ ζητούμενον
ἁλωτόν, ἐκφεύγει δὲ τἀμελούμενον

καὶ πάλιν αὖ τὰ πράγματα διαιρῶν

τὰ μὲν διδακτὰ μανθάνω, τὰ δ' εὑρετὰ
ζητῶ, τὰ δ' εὐκτὰ παρὰ θεῶν ᾐτησάμην.

[1] καὶ Wyttenbach following Xylander and Amyot: ἢ.

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 441 A and 1034 C.
[b] *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 110.

of chance, what is to hinder our saying that cats, goats, and apes because of chance are given over to greediness, lustfulness, and mischievous tricks?

2. If self-control, justice, and bravery exist, how is it possible to reason that intelligence does not exist; and if intelligence exists, must not sagacity exist also? For self-control is a kind of intelligence, they say, and justice requires the presence of intelligence.[a] Or rather, that particular sagacity and intelligence which render men virtuous in the midst of pleasures we call continence and self-control, in perils and labours we call it perseverance and fortitude, in private dealings and in public life we call it equity and justice. Wherefore, if we impute the works of sagacity to chance, let the works of justice and of self-control be also ascribed to chance, and, by Heaven, let thieving, stealing purses, and licentious living all be ascribed to chance, and let us abandon all our reasoning processes and resign ourselves to chance, to be driven and carried, as dust or rubbish by a violent wind, hither and thither. If, then, sagacity does not exist, it is a fair inference that there can be no sagacious planning about what is to be done, and no consideration or searching for what is to the best advantage, but Sophocles[b] indulged in idle talk when he said:

> Whatever is pursued
> May be achieved; neglected it escapes;

and so too in another place where he tries to distinguish different classes of actions:

> What can be taught I learn; what can be found
> I seek; but God I ask to answer prayer.[c]

[c] From an unknown play of Sophocles; Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Sophocles, No. 759.

(98) τί γὰρ εὑρετὸν ἢ τί μαθητόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, εἰ πάντα περαίνεται κατὰ τύχην; ποῖον δ' οὐκ ἀναιρεῖται βουλευτήριον πόλεως ἢ ποῖον οὐ καταλύεται συνέδριον βασιλέως, εἰ ὑπὸ τῇ τύχῃ πάντ' ἐστίν, ἣν τυφλὴν λοιδοροῦμεν, ὡς τυφλοὶ περιπίπτοντες
B αὐτῇ; τί δ' οὐ μέλλομεν, ὅταν ὥσπερ ὄμματα τὴν εὐβουλίαν ἐκκόψαντες αὐτῶν τοῦ βίου τυφλὴν χειραγωγὸν λαμβάνωμεν;

3. Καίτοι φέρε λέγειν τινὰ ἡμῶν ὡς τύχη τὰ τῶν βλεπόντων πράγματα, οὐκ ὄψις οὐδ' "ὄμματα φωσφόρα," φησὶ Πλάτων, καὶ τύχη τὰ τῶν ἀκουόντων, οὐ δύναμις ἀντιληπτικὴ πληγῆς ἀέρος δι' ὠτὸς καὶ ἐγκεφάλου προσφερομένης· καλὸν ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὴν αἴσθησιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν τὴν ὄψιν καὶ ἀκοὴν καὶ γεῦσιν καὶ ὄσφρησιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος τάς τε δυνάμεις[1] αὐτῶν ὑπηρεσίαν εὐβουλίας καὶ φρονήσεως ἡ
C φύσις ἤνεγκεν ἡμῖν, καὶ

"νοῦς ὁρῇ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει, τἄλλα" δὲ "κωφὰ καὶ τυφλά."

καὶ ὥσπερ ἡλίου μὴ ὄντος ἕνεκα τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων εὐφρόνην ἂν ἤγομεν, ὥς φησιν Ἡράκλειτος, οὕτως ἕνεκα τῶν αἰσθήσεων, εἰ μὴ νοῦν μηδὲ λόγον ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔσχεν, οὐδὲν ἂν διέφερε τῷ βίῳ τῶν θηρίων. νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τύχης οὐδ'

[1] τάς τε δυνάμεις Wyttenbach and one MS. correction: δυνάμεως.

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[a] *Cf.* Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 121, Menander, No. 417.
[b] In the *Timaeus*, p. 45 B.
[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 67 B.
[d] From Epicharmus; cited by Plutarch also in *Moralia*,

For what is there which can be found out or learned by mankind if the issue of all things is determined by chance? And what deliberative assembly of a State can there be which is not abolished, or advisory council of a king which is not dissolved, if all things are under the dominion of chance, which we reproach for being blind because we, like blind men, stumble against it?[a] How can we help doing so when we pluck out sagacity, as it were our own eyes, and take as our guide in life a blind leader?

3. Yet, suppose someone among us should say that the act of seeing is chance and not vision nor the use of "light-bringing orbs," as Plato[b] calls the eyes, and that the act of hearing is chance and not a faculty apperceptive of a vibration in the air which is carried onward through ear and brain.[c] If such were the case, it were well for us, as it appears, to beware of trusting our senses! But, as a matter of fact, Nature has conferred upon us sight, hearing, taste, smell, and our other members and their faculties to be ministers of sagacity and intelligence, and

> Mind has sight and mind has hearing; all the rest is deaf and blind.[d]

Precisely as would be our case if the sun did not exist, and we, for all the other stars, should be passing our life in a continual night, as Heracleitus[e] affirms, so man, for all his senses, had he not mind and reason, would not differ at all in his life from the brutes.

336 B and 961 A. *Cf.* Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 123.

[e] Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 97; Bywater, p. 13. A slightly different version of the saying is given by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 957 A.

(98) αὐτομάτως περίεσμεν αὐτῶν καὶ κρατοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Προμηθεύς, τουτέστιν ὁ λογισμός, αἴτιος

ἵππων ὄνων τ' ὀχεῖα καὶ ταύρων γονὰς
δοὺς ἀντίδουλα[1] καὶ πόνων ἐκδέκτορα

D κατ' Αἰσχύλον. ἐπεὶ τύχῃ γε καὶ φύσει γενέσεως ἀμείνονι τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἀλόγων κέχρηται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὥπλισται κέρασι καὶ ὀδοῦσι καὶ κέντροις,

"αὐτὰρ ἐχίνοις,[2]" φησὶν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς,
"ὀξυβελεῖς χαῖται νώτοις ἐπιπεφρίκασι,"

τὰ δ' ὑποδέδεται καὶ ἠμφίεσται φολίσι καὶ λάχναις καὶ χηλαῖς καὶ ὁπλαῖς ἀποκρότοις· μόνος δ' ὁ ἄνθρωπος κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα "γυμνὸς καὶ ἄνοπλος καὶ ἀνυπόδετος[3] καὶ ἄστρωτος" ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπολέλειπται.

ἀλλ' ἓν διδοῦσα πάντα μαλθάσσει τάδε,

E τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν.

ἦ βραχὺ μὲν σθένος ἀνέρος· ἀλλὰ
ποικιλίᾳ πραπίδων
δεινὰ μὲν φῦλα[4] πόντου
χθονίων τ' ἀερίων τε
δάμναται βουλεύματα.

κουφότατον ἵπποι καὶ ὠκύτατον, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ θέουσι· μάχιμον κύων καὶ θυμοειδές, ἀλλ' ἄν-

[1] ἀντίδουλα from *Moralia*, 964 F: ἀντίδωρα.
[2] ἐχίνοις Stephanus and possibly one MS.: ἐχῖνος.
[3] ἄνοπλος καὶ ἀνυπόδετος] ἄοπλος καὶ ἀνυπόδητος Plato MSS., which also have the words in different order.
[4] φῦλα added from *Moralia*, 959 D; not in MSS.

[a] From the *Prometheus Unbound* of Aeschylus; Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Aeschylus, No. 194. The lines are again quoted by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 964 F.

But as it is, we excel them and have power over them, not from chance or accidentally, but the cause thereof is Prometheus, or, in other words, the power to think and reason,

> Which gives the foal of horse and ass, and get
> Of bull, to serve us and assume our tasks,

as Aeschylus [a] puts it. Certainly, in so far as chance and nature's endowment at birth are concerned, the great majority of brute animals are better off than man. For some are armed with horns, or teeth, or stings, and Empedocles says,

> But as for hedgehogs
> Growing upon their backs sharp darts of spines stand bristling,[b]

and still others are shod and clad with scales or hair, with claws or horny hoofs. Man alone, as Plato [c] says, "naked, unarmed, with feet unshod, and with no bed to lie in," has been abandoned by Nature.

> Yet by one gift all this she mitigates,[d]

the gift of reasoning, diligence, and forethought.

> Slight, of a truth, is the strength of man; and yet
> By his mind's resourcefulness
> Doth he subjugate the monsters
> Of the deep, and the purposes
> Of the denizens of earth and air.[e]

Horses are the lightest and swiftest of foot, yet they run for man. The dog is pugnacious and

[b] Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 252.

[c] *Protagoras*, 321 c.

[d] Author unknown, but perhaps Euripides; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, No. 367; cited again by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 959 D.

[e] From the *Aeolus* of Euripides; Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 27.

θρωπον φυλάττει· ἥδύτατον ἰχθὺς καὶ πολύσαρκον ὗς, ἀνθρώπῳ[1] δὲ τροφὴ καὶ ὄψον ἐστί. τί μεῖζον ἐλέφαντος ἢ φοβερώτερον ἰδεῖν; ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο παίγνιον γέγονεν ἀνθρώπου καὶ θέαμα πανηγυρικόν, ὀρχήσεις τε μανθάνει καὶ χορείας καὶ προσκυνήσεις, οὐκ ἀχρήστως τῶν τοιούτων παρ-
F εισαγομένων, ἀλλ' ἵνα μανθάνωμεν ποῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἡ φρόνησις αἴρει καὶ τίνων ὑπεράνω ποιεῖ, καὶ πῶς[2] κρατεῖ πάντων καὶ περίεστιν.

οὐ γὰρ πυγμάχοι εἰμὲν ἀμύμονες οὐδὲ παλαισταί,
οὐδὲ[3] ποσὶ κραιπνῶς θέομεν,

ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἀτυχέστεροι τῶν θηρίων ἐσμέν· ἐμπειρίᾳ δὲ καὶ μνήμῃ καὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ τέχνῃ κατ' Ἀναξαγόραν σφῶν[4] τ' αὐτῶν χρώμεθα καὶ βλίττομεν καὶ ἀμέλγομεν καὶ φέρομεν καὶ ἄγομεν συλλαμβάνοντες· ὥστ' ἐνταῦθα μηδὲν τῆς τύχης ἀλλὰ πάντα τῆς εὐβουλίας εἶναι καὶ τῆς προνοίας.
99 4. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ τεκτόνων δήπου "πράγματα θνητῶν" ἐστι, καὶ τὰ χαλκοτύπων καὶ οἰκοδόμων καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιῶν, ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν αὐτομάτως οὐδ' ὡς ἔτυχε κατορθούμενον ὁρῶμεν. ὅτι γὰρ τούτοις[5] βραχεῖά τις παρεμπίπτει τύχη,

[1] ἀνθρώπῳ Hercher: ἀνθρώποις.
[2] πῶς] πλείω most MSS., perhaps corrupted from τί ἀεί.
[3] ἀλλὰ Homeric MSS.
[4] σφῶν] ἔργῳ Sauppe: ἐρίῳ Bernardakis; but as most MSS. read τι for τ', a dative in -οντι (or -ωντι) would be in better keeping: σαρξίτ' S. A. Naber.
[5] τούτοις] most MSS. have σοφῷ, following Epicurus as quoted by Diogenes Laertius, x. 144.

[a] Plutarch has several good stories about elephants in *Moralia*, 968 ff.

spirited, yet it watches over man. Fish is most savoury, and the pig very fat, yet for man they are nourishing and appetizing food. What is bigger than an elephant or more terrible to behold? But even this creature has been made the plaything of man, and a spectacle at public gatherings, and it learns to posture and dance and kneel.[a] Such presentations are not without their use; indeed, they serve a purpose in that we may learn to what heights man's intelligence raises him, above what it places him, and how he is master of all things, and in every way superior.

> No, we are not invincible either in boxing or wrestling,
> Nor are we swift in the race.[b]

Indeed, in all these matters we are not so fortunate as the animals; yet we make use of experience, memory, wisdom, and skill, as Anaxagoras[c] says, which are ours, and ours only, and we take their honey, and milk them, and carry and lead them at will, taking entire control over them. In all this, therefore, there is no element of chance at all, but solely and wholly sagacity and forethought.

4. Moreover, under the head of "man's ways"[d] would fall, no doubt, the activities of carpenters, copper-smiths, builders, and statuaries, wherein we see nothing brought to a successful conclusion accidentally or as it chances. That chance may sometimes contribute slightly to their success,[e] but

[b] Adapted from Homer, *Od.* viii. 246.
[c] *Cf.* Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 409.
[d] *Cf.* the first line of chap. i. *supra.*
[e] From Epicurus; *cf.* the quotation in Diogenes Laertius, x. 144.

(99) τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἔργων αἱ τέχναι συντελοῦσι δι' αὐτῶν, καὶ οὗτος ὑποδεδήλωκε

> βᾶτ' εἰς ὁδὸν δὴ πᾶς ὁ χειρῶναξ λεώς,
> οἳ τὴν Διὸς γοργῶπιν Ἐργάνην στατοῖς
> λίκνοισι προστρέπεσθε.

B τὴν γὰρ Ἐργάνην καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αἱ τέχναι πάρεδρον οὐ τὴν Τύχην ἔχουσι. ἕνα[1] μέντοι φασὶν ἵππον ζωγραφοῦντα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις κατορθοῦν εἴδεσι καὶ χρώμασι, τοῦ δ' ἀφροῦ τὴν περὶ τῷ χαλινῷ κοπτομένην χαυνότητα καὶ τὸ συνεκπῖπτον ἆσθμα μὴ κατορθοῦντα γράφειν τε πολλάκις καὶ ἐξαλείφειν, τέλος δ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς προσβαλεῖν τῷ πίνακι τὸν σπόγγον ὥσπερ εἶχε τῶν φαρμάκων ἀνάπλεων, τὸν δὲ προσπεσόντα θαυμαστῶς ἐναπομάξαι καὶ ποιῆσαι τὸ δέον. τοῦτ' ἔντεχνον τύχης μόνον ἱστορεῖται. κανόσι καὶ σταθμαῖς καὶ μέτροις καὶ ἀριθμοῖς πανταχοῦ χρῶνται, ἵνα μηδαμοῦ
C τὸ εἰκῇ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε τοῖς ἔργοις ἐγγένηται. καὶ μὴν αἱ τέχναι μικραί τινες εἶναι λέγονται φρονήσεις, μᾶλλον δ' ἀπόρροιαι φρονήσεως καὶ ἀποτρίμματα ἐνδιεσπαρμένα ταῖς χρείαις περὶ τὸν βίον, ὥσπερ αἰνίττεται τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως μερισθὲν ἄλλο ἄλλῃ διασπαρῆναι. καὶ γὰρ τῆς φρονήσεως μόρια καὶ σπάσματα μικρὰ θραυομένης καὶ κατακερματιζομένης εἰς τάξεις[2] κεχώρηκε.

[1] ἕνα] Νεάλκη Madvig.
[2] τάξεις] τὰς πράξεις Nikitin and Larsen.

[a] Perhaps from Sophocles; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Sophocles, No. 760. Ἐργάνη is an epithet applied to Athena as patron of the arts.

that the arts through themselves bring to perfection the most and greatest of their works, is plainly suggested by this poet:

> Into the highway come, all craftsmen folk,
> Who worship Labour, stern-eyed child of Zeus,
> With sacred baskets placed about.[a]

For the arts have Labour, that is Athena, and not Chance as their coadjutor. Of just one artist,[b] however, it is related that in painting a horse he had succeeded in nearly every respect in the drawing and colours, but the frothy appearance of the foam from champing the bit, and the rush of the foam-flecked breath, he had tried again and again to paint, but without success, and each time had wiped it out, until finally, in a rage, he threw his sponge just as it was, full of pigments, at the canvas, and this, as it struck, transferred its contents in some amazing manner to the canvas, and effected the desired result. This is the only recorded instance of a technical achievement due to chance. Rulers, weights, measures, and numbers are everywhere in use, so that the random and haphazard may find no place in any production. Indeed, the arts are said to be minor forms of intelligence, or rather offshoots of intelligence, and detached fragments of it interspersed amid life's common necessities, as it is said in the allegory regarding fire, that it was divided into portions by Prometheus and scattered some here and some there. For thus, when intelligence is finely broken and divided, small portions and fragments of it have gone to their several stations.

[b] Nealces, according to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 36 (104). Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* lxiii. 4) says it was Apelles, and Valerius Maximus (viii. 11. 7) says "a famous painter."

(99) 5. Θαυμαστὸν οὖν ἐστι πῶς αἱ μὲν τέχναι τῆς τύχης οὐ δέονται πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον τέλος, ἡ δὲ πασῶν μεγίστη καὶ τελειοτάτη τέχνη καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐφημίας καὶ δικαιώσεως οὐδέν ἐστιν. ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπιτάσει μὲν χορδῶν καὶ ἀνέσει εὐβουλία τίς ἐστιν ἣν μουσικὴν καλοῦσι, καὶ περὶ ἄρτυσιν ὄψων ἣν μαγειρικὴν ὀνομάζομεν, καὶ περὶ D πλύσιν ἱματίων ἣν γναφικήν· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας καὶ ὑποδεῖσθαι καὶ περιβάλλεσθαι διδάσκομεν καὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ λαμβάνειν τοῦ ὄψου τῇ δ' ἀριστερᾷ κρατεῖν τὸν ἄρτον, ὡς οὐδὲ τούτων γιγνομένων ἀπὸ τύχης ἀλλ' ἐπιστάσεως καὶ προσοχῆς δεομένων· τὰ δὲ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν οὐ παρακαλεῖ τὴν φρόνησιν, οὐδὲ μετέχει τοῦ κατὰ λόγον καὶ πρόνοιαν; ἀλλὰ γῆν μὲν οὐδεὶς ὕδατι δεύσας ἀφῆκεν, ὡς ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ αὐτομάτως πλίνθων ἐσομένων, οὐδ' ἔρια καὶ σκύτη κτησάμενος κάθηται τῇ τύχῃ προσευχόμενος ἱμάτιον αὐτῷ καὶ ὑποδήματα γενέσθαι· χρυσίον δὲ πολὺ συμφορήσας E καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ πλῆθος ἀνδραπόδων καὶ πολυθύρους αὐλὰς περιβαλόμενος καὶ κλίνας προσθέμενος πολυτελεῖς καὶ τραπέζας οἴεται ταῦτα φρονήσεως αὐτῷ μὴ παραγενομένης εὐδαιμονίαν ἔσεσθαι καὶ βίον ἄλυπον καὶ μακάριον καὶ ἀμετάβλητον;

Ἠρώτα τις Ἰφικράτην τὸν στρατηγόν, ὥσπερ ἐξελέγχων, τίς ἐστιν; "οὔτε γὰρ ὁπλίτης οὔτε τοξότης οὔτε πελταστής." κἀκεῖνος "ὁ τούτοις,"

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 5 A and 440 A.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 100 C, *infra*.

[c] This story also in *Moralia*, 187 B and 440 B.

5. It is therefore amazing how, if the arts have no need of chance to accomplish their own ends, the greatest and most perfect art of all, the consummation of the high repute and esteem to which man can attain, can count for nothing! But in the tightening and loosening of strings there is involved a certain sagacity, which men call music, and also in the preparation of food, to which we give the name of cookery, and in the cleaning of clothes, which we call fulling; and we teach our children to put on their shoes and clothes, and to take their meat with the right hand and hold their bread in the left, on the assumption that even these things do not come by chance, but require oversight and attention.[a] But can it be that those things which are most important and most essential for happiness do not call for intelligence, nor have any part in the processes of reason and forethought? But nobody wets clay with water and leaves it, assuming that by chance and accidentally there will be bricks, nor after providing himself with wool and leather does he sit down with a prayer to Chance that they turn into a cloak and shoes for him; and when a man has amassed much gold and silver and a multitude of slaves, and has surrounded himself with spacious suites of rooms, and, in addition, has furnished them with costly couches and tables,[b] does he imagine that these things, without the presence of intelligence in himself, will be happiness and a blissful life, free from grief and secure from change?

Somebody asked Iphicrates[c] the general, as though undertaking to expose him, who he was, since he was "neither a man-at-arms, nor archer, nor targeteer"; and he answered, "I am the man who

ἔφη, "πᾶσιν ἐπιτάττων καὶ χρώμενος." (6.) οὐ
F χρυσίον ἡ φρόνησίς ἐστιν οὐδ' ἀργύριον οὐδὲ δόξα οὐδὲ πλοῦτος οὐδ' ὑγίεια οὐδ' ἰσχὺς οὐδὲ κάλλος. τί οὖν ἐστι; τὸ πᾶσι τούτοις καλῶς χρῆσθαι δυνάμενον καὶ δι' ὃ τούτων ἕκαστον ἡδὺ γίγνεται καὶ ἔνδοξον καὶ ὠφέλιμον· ἄνευ δὲ τούτου δύσχρηστα καὶ ἄκαρπα καὶ βλαβερά, καὶ βαρύνει καὶ καταισχύνει τὸν κεκτημένον. ἦ που καλῶς ὁ Ἡσιόδου Προμηθεὺς τῷ Ἐπιμηθεῖ παρακελεύεται

μή ποτε δῶρα
δέξασθαι πὰρ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀλλ' ἀποπέμπειν,

100 τὰ τυχηρὰ λέγων καὶ τὰ ἐκτός, ὡς εἰ παρεκελεύετο μὴ συρίζειν[1] ἄμουσον ὄντα μηδ' ἀναγιγνώσκειν ἀγράμματον μηδ' ἱππεύειν ἄνιππον, οὕτω παρακελευόμενος αὐτῷ μὴ ἄρχειν ἀνόητον ὄντα μηδὲ πλουτεῖν ἀνελεύθερον μηδὲ γαμεῖν κρατούμενον ὑπὸ γυναικός. οὐ γὰρ μόνον "τὸ εὖ πράττειν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀφορμὴ τοῦ κακῶς φρονεῖν τοῖς ἀνοήτοις γίγνεται," ὡς Δημοσθένης εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐτυχεῖν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀφορμὴ τοῦ κακῶς πράττειν τοῖς μὴ φρονοῦσιν.

[1] συρίζειν] λυρίζειν Hercher.

commands and makes use of all these." (6.) Intelligence is not gold or silver or repute or wealth or health or strength or beauty. What then is it? It is the something which is able to make good use of all these, and something through whose agency each of these is made pleasant, noteworthy, and profitable. Without it they are unserviceable, fruitless, and harmful, and they burden and disgrace their possessor. It is surely excellent advice that Hesiod's[a] Prometheus gives to Epimetheus:

> Never to welcome
> Any gifts from Zeus of Olympus, but always return them,

meaning the gifts of chance and external advantages; as if he were advising him not to play the flute if ignorant of music, nor to read if illiterate, nor to ride if unused to horses, thus advising him not to hold public office if a fool, nor to be rich if miserly, nor to marry if ruled by a woman. For not only is it true, as Demosthenes[b] has said, that "undeserved success becomes a source of misconception for fools," but undeserved good fortune also becomes a source of misery for the unthinking.

[a] In the *Works and Days*, 86.
[b] *Olynthiac* I. 23.

VIRTUE AND VICE
(DE VIRTUTE ET VITIO)

INTRODUCTION

Plutarch's essay on Virtue and Vice is an excellent sermon which has not been overlooked by Christian preachers.

(100) B

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΙΑΣ

1. Τὰ ἱμάτια δοκεῖ θερμαίνειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ αὐτὰ δήπου θερμαίνοντα καὶ προσβάλλοντα τὴν θερμότητα (καθ' ἑαυτὸ γὰρ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ψυχρόν ἐστιν, ᾗ καὶ πολλάκις καυματιζόμενοι καὶ πυρέτ-
C τοντες ἐξ ἑτέρων ἕτερα μεταλαμβάνουσιν), ἀλλ' ἣν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀναδίδωσιν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ θερμότητα, ταύτην ἡ ἐσθὴς τῷ σώματι προσπεσοῦσα συνέχει καὶ περιστέλλει, καὶ καθειργνυμένην εἰς τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἐᾷ πάλιν σκεδάννυσθαι. ταὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο τοῖς πράγμασιν ὑπάρχον ἐξαπατᾷ τοὺς πολλούς, ὡς, ἂν οἰκίας μεγάλας περιβάλωνται καὶ πλῆθος ἀνδραπόδων καὶ χρημάτων συναγάγωσιν, ἡδέως βιωσομένους. τὸ δ' ἡδέως ζῆν καὶ ἱλαρῶς οὐκ ἔξωθέν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν πράγμασιν ἡδονὴν καὶ χάριν ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς τοῦ ἤθους προστίθησιν.

D αἰθομένου δὲ πυρὸς γεραρώτερος οἶκος ἰδέσθαι, καὶ πλοῦτος ἡδίων καὶ δόξα λαμπροτέρα καὶ δύναμις, ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔχῃ γῆθος· ὅπου καὶ πενίαν καὶ φυγὴν καὶ γῆρας ἐλαφρῶς καὶ προσηνῶς πρὸς εὐκολίαν καὶ πραότητα τρόπου φέρουσιν.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 99 E, *supra*.

[b] A dictum of Zeno's; *cf.* Plutarch, *Moralia*, 477 A, and Von Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, i. p. 50.

VIRTUE AND VICE

1. Clothes are supposed to make a man warm, not of course by warming him themselves in the sense of adding their warmth to him, because each garment by itself is cold, and for this reason very often persons who feel hot and feverish keep changing from one set of clothes to another; but the warmth which a man gives off from his own person the clothing, closely applied to the body, confines and enwraps, and does not allow it, when thus imprisoned in the body, to be dissipated again. Now the same condition existing in human affairs deceives most people, who think that, if they surround themselves with vast houses, and get together a mass of slaves and money, they shall live pleasantly.[a] But a pleasant and happy life comes not from external things, but, on the contrary, man draws on his own character as a source[b] from which to add the element of pleasure and joy to the things which surround him.

Bright with a blazing fire a house looks far more cheerful,[c]

and wealth is pleasanter, and repute and power more resplendent, if with them goes the gladness which springs from the heart; and so too men bear poverty, exile, and old age lightly and gently in proportion to the serenity and mildness of their character.

[c] A verse attributed to Homer; *cf. The Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, 274. Again quoted *Moralia*, 762 D.

(100) 2. Ὡς γὰρ ἀρώματα τρίβωνας εὐώδεις καὶ ῥάκια ποιεῖ, τοῦ δ' Ἀγχίσου τὸ σῶμα ἰχῶρα πονηρὸν ἐξεδίδου

νώτου καταστάζοντα βύσσινον φάρος,

οὕτω μετ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δίαιτα πᾶσα καὶ βίος ἄλυπός ἐστι καὶ ἐπιτερπής, ἡ δὲ κακία καὶ τὰ λαμπρὰ
E φαινόμενα καὶ πολυτελῆ καὶ σεμνὰ μιγνυμένη λυπηρὰ καὶ ναυτιώδη καὶ δυσπρόσδεκτα παρέχει τοῖς κεκτημένοις.

οὗτος μακάριος ἐν ἀγορᾷ νομίζεται·
ἐπὰν δ' ἀνοίξῃ τὰς θύρας, τρισάθλιος,
γυνὴ κρατεῖ πάντων, ἐπιτάττει, μάχετ' ἀεί·

καίτοι γυναικὸς οὐ χαλεπῶς ἄν τις ἀπαλλαγείη πονηρᾶς ἀνὴρ ὤν, μὴ ἀνδράποδον· πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κακίαν οὐκ ἔστι γραψάμενον ἀπόλειψιν ἤδη πραγμάτων ἀφεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι γενόμενον καθ' αὑτόν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ συνοικοῦσα τοῖς σπλάγχνοις καὶ προσπεφυκυῖα νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν

εὕει ἄτερ δαλοῖο[1] καὶ ὠμῷ γήραϊ δῶκεν,[2]

F βαρεῖα συνέκδημος οὖσα δι' ἀλαζονείαν καὶ πολυτελὴς σύνδειπνος ὑπὸ λιχνείας καὶ σύγκοιτος ὀδυνηρά, φροντίσι καὶ μερίμναις καὶ ζηλοτυπίαις ἐκκόπτουσα τὸν ὕπνον καὶ διαφθείρουσα. καὶ γὰρ ὃ καθεύδουσι τοῦ σώματος ὕπνος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνάπαυσις, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς πτοῖαι καὶ ὄνειροι καὶ ταραχαὶ διὰ δεισιδαιμονίαν.

[1] δαλοῦ most MSS.
[2] καὶ ἐν ὠμῷ . . . θῆκεν Plut. *Moral.* 527 A. For the various MS. readings *cf.* Rzach's Hesiod *ad loc.*

[a] From the *Laocoön* of Sophocles; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Sophocles, No. 344.

2. As perfumes make coarse and ragged garments fragrant, but the body of Anchises gave off a noisome exudation,

> Damping the linen robe adown his back,[a]

so every occupation and manner of life, if attended by virtue, is untroubled and delightful, while, on the other hand, any admixture of vice renders those things which to others seem splendid, precious, and imposing, only troublesome, sickening, and unwelcome to their possessors.

> This man is happy deemed 'mid public throng,
> But when he opes his door he's thrice a wretch ;
> His wife controls, commands, and always fights.[b]

Yet it is not difficult for any man to get rid of a bad wife if he be a real man and not a slave ; but against his own vice it is not possible to draw up a writing of divorcement and forthwith to be rid of troubles and to be at peace, having arranged to be by himself. No, his vice, a settled tenant of his very vitals always, both at night and by day,

> Burns, but without e'er a brand, and consigns to an eld all untimely.[c]

For in travelling vice is a troublesome companion because of arrogance, at dinner an expensive companion owing to gluttony, and a distressing bedfellow, since by anxieties, cares and jealousies it drives out and destroys sleep. For what slumber there may be is sleep and repose for the body only, but for the soul terrors, dreams, and agitations, because of superstition.

[b] Perhaps from Menander ; *cf.* Kock, *Com. Attic. Frag.* iii. p. 86, and Plutarch, *Moralia*, 471 B.
[c] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 705.

ὅταν δὲ νυστάζοντά μ' ἡ λύπη λάβῃ,
ἀπόλλυμ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνυπνίων

φησί τις· οὕτω δὲ καὶ φθόνος καὶ φόβος καὶ θυμὸς καὶ ἀκολασία διατίθησι. μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν γὰρ ἔξω βλέπουσα καὶ συσχηματιζομένη πρὸς
101 ἑτέρους ἡ κακία δυσωπεῖται καὶ παρακαλύπτει τὰ πάθη, καὶ οὐ παντάπασι ταῖς ὁρμαῖς ἐκδίδωσιν ἑαυτὴν ἀλλ' ἀντιτείνει καὶ μάχεται πολλάκις· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὕπνοις ἀποφυγοῦσα δόξας καὶ νόμους καὶ πορρωτάτω γενομένη τοῦ δεδιέναι τε καὶ αἰδεῖσθαι, πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν κινεῖ καὶ ἐπανεγείρει τὸ κακόηθες καὶ ἀκόλαστον. "μητρί τε γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖ μίγνυσθαι," ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, καὶ βρώσεις ἀθέσμους προσφέρεται καὶ πράξεως οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπέχεται, ἀπολαύουσα τοῦ παρανομεῖν ὡς ἀνυστόν ἐστιν εἰδώλοις καὶ φάσμασιν εἰς οὐδεμίαν ἡδονὴν οὐδὲ τελείωσιν τοῦ ἐπιθυμοῦντος τελευτῶ-
B σιν, ἀλλὰ κινεῖν μόνον καὶ διαγριαίνειν τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ νοσήματα δυναμένοις.

3. Ποῦ τοίνυν τὸ ἡδὺ τῆς κακίας ἐστίν, εἰ μηδαμοῦ τὸ ἀμέριμνον καὶ τὸ ἄλυπον μηδ' αὐτάρκεια μηδ' ἀταραξία μηδ' ἡσυχία; ταῖς μὲν γὰρ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδοναῖς ἡ τοῦ σώματος εὐκρασία καὶ ὑγίεια χώραν καὶ γένεσιν δίδωσι· τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐγγενέσθαι γῆθος οὐδὲ χαρὰν βέβαιον, ἂν μὴ τὸ εὔθυμον καὶ ἄφοβον καὶ θαρραλέον ὥσπερ ἕδραν ἢ γαλήνην ἄκλυστον ὑποβάληται, ἀλλὰ κἂν ὑπομειδιάσῃ τις ἐλπὶς ἢ τέρψις, αὕτη ταχὺ φρον-

When grief o'ertakes me as I close my eyes,
I'm murdered by my dreams.[a]

says one man. In such a state do envy, fear, temper, and licentiousness put a man. For by day vice, looking outside of itself and conforming its attitude to others, is abashed and veils its emotions, and does not give itself up completely to its impulses, but oftentimes resists them and struggles against them; but in the hours of slumber, when it has escaped from opinion and law, and got away as far as possible from feeling fear or shame, it sets every desire stirring, and awakens its depravity and licentiousness. It "attempts incest," as Plato[b] says, partakes of forbidden meats, abstains from nothing which it wishes to do, but revels in lawlessness so far as it can, with images and visions which end in no pleasure or accomplishment of desire, but have only the power to stir to fierce activity the emotional and morbid propensities.[c]

3. Where, then, is the pleasure in vice, if in no part of it is to be found freedom from care and grief, or contentment or tranquillity or calm? For a well-balanced and healthy condition of the body gives room for engendering the pleasures of the flesh; but in the soul lasting joy and gladness cannot possibly be engendered, unless it provide itself first with cheerfulness, fearlessness, and courageousness as a basis to rest upon, or as a calm tranquillity that no billows disturb; otherwise, even though some hope or delectation lure us with a smile, anxiety suddenly breaks

[a] From some poet of the new comedy; *cf.* Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 444, Adespota, No. 185.

[b] *Republic*, p. 571 D.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 83 A, *supra*.

(101) τίδος ἐκραγείσης ὥσπερ ἐν εὐδίᾳ σπιλάδος συνεχύθη καὶ συνεταράχθη.

C 4. Ἄθροιζε χρυσίον, σύναγε ἀργύριον, οἰκοδόμει περιπάτους, ἔμπλησον ἀνδραπόδων τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ χρεωστῶν τὴν πόλιν· ἂν μὴ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς καταστορέσῃς καὶ τὴν ἀπληστίαν παύσῃς καὶ φόβων καὶ φροντίδων ἀπαλλάξῃς σαυτόν, οἶνον διηθεῖς πυρέττοντι καὶ χολικῷ μέλι προσφέρεις καὶ σιτία καὶ ὄψα κοιλιακοῖς ἑτοιμάζεις καὶ δυσεντερικοῖς, μὴ στέγουσι μηδὲ ῥωννυμένοις ἀλλὰ προσδιαφθειρομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν. οὐχ ὁρᾷς τοὺς νοσοῦντας ὅτι τῶν βρωμάτων τὰ καθαριώτατα καὶ πολυτελέστατα δυσχεραίνουσι καὶ διαπτύουσι D καὶ παραιτοῦνται προσφερόντων καὶ βιαζομένων, εἶτα, τῆς κράσεως μεταβαλούσης καὶ πνεύματος χρηστοῦ καὶ γλυκέος αἵματος ἐγγενομένου καὶ θερμότητος οἰκείας, ἀναστάντες ἄρτον λιτὸν ἐπὶ τυρῷ καὶ καρδάμῳ χαίρουσι καὶ ἀσμενίζουσιν ἐσθίοντες[1]; τοιαύτην ὁ λόγος ἐμποιεῖ τῇ ψυχῇ διάθεσιν. αὐτάρκης ἔσῃ, ἂν μάθῃς τί τὸ καλὸν κἀγαθόν ἐστι· τρυφήσεις ἐν πενίᾳ καὶ βασιλεύσεις καὶ τὸν ἀπράγμονα βίον καὶ ἰδιώτην οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀγαπήσεις ἢ τὸν ἐπὶ στρατηγίαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις· οὐ βιώσῃ φιλοσοφήσας ἀηδῶς, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ ζῆν ἡδέως μαθήσῃ καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων· εὐφρανεῖ σε E πλοῦτος πολλοὺς εὐεργετοῦντα καὶ πενία πολλὰ μὴ μεριμνῶντα καὶ δόξα τιμώμενον καὶ ἀδοξία μὴ φθονούμενον.

[1] ἐσθίοντες Iannotius: ἔσθοντες.

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 466 D.

forth, like a hidden rock appearing in fair weather, and the soul is overwhelmed and confounded.

4. Heap up gold, amass silver, build stately promenades, fill your house with slaves and the city with your debtors ; unless you lay level the emotions of your soul, put a stop to your insatiate desires, and quit yourself of fears and anxieties, you are but decanting wine for a man in a fever, offering honey to a bilious man, and preparing tid-bits and dainties for sufferers from colic or dysentery, who cannot retain them or be strengthened by them, but are only brought nearer to death thereby. Does not your observation of sick persons teach you that they dislike and reject and decline the finest and costliest viands which their attendants offer and try to force upon them ; and then later, when their whole condition has changed, and good breathing, wholesome blood, and normal temperature have returned to their bodies, they get up and have joy and satisfaction in eating plain bread with cheese and cress ? [a] It is such a condition that reason creates in the soul. You will be contented with your lot if you learn what the honourable and good is. You will be luxurious in poverty, and live like a king, and you will find no less satisfaction in the care-free life of a private citizen than in the life connected with high military or civic office. If you become a philosopher, you will live not unpleasantly, but you will learn to subsist pleasantly anywhere and with any resources. Wealth will give you gladness for the good you will do to many, poverty for your freedom from many cares, repute for the honours you will enjoy, and obscurity for the certainty that you shall not be envied.

[illegible]

[illegible]

A LETTER OF CONDOLENCE TO APOLLONIUS

(CONSOLATIO AD APOLLONIUM)

INTRODUCTION

The Letter of Condolence to Apollonius, into which quotations from earlier authors have been emptied from the sack rather than scattered by hand, has in comparatively recent years fallen under suspicion as being perhaps not the work of Plutarch. The suspicion rests mainly on two grounds, the unusual length of the quotations, and certain incongruities of style. The latter may here be briefly dismissed with the remark that for every departure from accepted Plutarchean style a striking instance of conformity to his style may be cited, so that no very positive results are to be obtained in this way. The case is much the same with the quotations. Many of them are unusually long, although not longer than we find in other authors. Some of them, for example Euripides, *Suppliants* 1110 and 1112 (Plut. 110 c), show an accuracy of MS. tradition so far superior that the reading given by Plutarch is commonly adopted by editors of Euripides in preference to the traditional reading of the MSS. of Euripides. On the other hand, the quotation from Plato, *Gorgias* 523 A (Plut. 120 E), shows many minor variations from our text of Plato; some of these are interesting in themselves, but none of them really disturbs the meaning of the passage.

We learn from the letter almost nothing about

Apollonius and his departed son, and hardly more about Plutarch. It lacks the intimate touch of a similar letter which was written by Plutarch to his wife (*Moralia*, 608 A). Indeed we cannot be wholly sure that the boy was called Apollonius after his father, for one stroke of the pen to change the accusative to a vocative (121 E) would cause his name to disappear entirely.

The title of the letter is not found in Lamprias' list of Plutarch's works, nevertheless we have reference to it at a comparatively early date.

Some striking similarities between the letter and Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* are doubtless to be explained by derivation from a common source, and this source was doubtless in large part the works of the Academic philosopher Crantor.

In the absence of actual knowledge it is convenient to assume an hypothesis (as in the realm of science one speaks of "atoms" or "ions" or of the electric "current"). If we assume that this is the original rough draft of the letter which was to be sent to Apollonius, nearly everything can be made to square with the hypothesis. In selecting some of the quotations Plutarch had put down enough of the context, so that later the lines he might finally choose to insert could be smoothly interwoven with the text, and the text itself was no doubt to be subjected to further polish.

However, we may be profoundly grateful for the collection of extracts included in the letter, and, if the hypothesis be right, we may also be grateful for this glimpse of Plutarch's methods of composition.

We must bear in mind that this particular form of literary composition had developed a style of its

own, the earliest example perhaps being the *Axiochus* (of Plato ?), and we have records of many more now lost. Among the Romans also this form of composition was popular, and several examples may be found in the works of Seneca.

F
ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ

1. *Καὶ πάλαι σοι συνήλγησα καὶ συνηχθέσθην, Ἀπολλώνιε, ἀκούσας περὶ τῆς τοῦ προσφιλεστάτου πᾶσιν ἡμῖν υἱοῦ σου προώρου μεταλλαγῆς τοῦ βίου, νεανίσκου κοσμίου πάνυ καὶ σώφρονος καὶ διαφερόντως τά τε πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς γονεῖς*
102 *καὶ φίλους ὅσια καὶ δίκαια διαφυλάξαντος. τότε μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς τελευτῆς καιρὸν ἐντυγχάνειν σοι καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως φέρειν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἀνοίκειον ἦν, παρειμένῳ*[1] *τό τε σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ τῆς παραλόγου συμφορᾶς, καὶ συμπαθεῖν δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖον· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν ἰατρῶν πρὸς τὰς ἀθρόας τῶν ῥευμάτων ἐπιφορὰς εὐθὺς προσφέρουσι τὰς διὰ τῶν φαρμάκων βοηθείας, ἀλλ' ἐῶσι τὸ βαρῦνον τῆς φλεγμονῆς δίχα τῆς τῶν ἔξωθεν περιχρίστων ἐπιθέσεως αὐτὸ δι' αὑτοῦ λαβεῖν πέψιν.*

2. *Ἐπειδὴ οὖν καὶ χρόνος ὁ πάντα πεπαίνειν*
B *εἰωθὼς ἐγγέγονε τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ ἡ περὶ σὲ διάθεσις ἀπαιτεῖν ἔοικε τὴν παρὰ τῶν φίλων βοήθειαν, καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπέλαβον τῶν παραμυθητικῶν*

[1] *παρειμένῳ* Wilamowitz : *παρειμένον*.

A LETTER OF CONDOLENCE TO APOLLONIUS

1. Even before this time, Apollonius, I felt for you in your sorrow and trouble, when I heard of the untimely passing from life of your son, who was very dear to us all—a youth who was altogether decorous and modest, and unusually observant of the demands of religion and justice both toward the gods and toward his parents and friends. In those days, close upon the time of his death, to visit you and urge you to bear your present lot as a mortal man should would have been unsuitable, when you were prostrated in both body and soul by the unexpected calamity; and, besides, I could not help sharing in your feeling. For even the best of physicians do not at once apply the remedy of medicines against acute attacks of suppurating humours, but allow the painfulness of the inflammation, without the application of external medicaments, to attain some assuagement of itself.[a]

2. Now since time, which is wont to assuage all things, has intervened since the calamity, and your present condition seems to demand the aid of your friends, I have conceived it to be proper to communicate to you some words that can give comfort, for

[a] *Cf.* Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, 29 (63), and Pliny, *Letters*, v. 16.

(102) σοι μεταδοῦναι λόγων πρὸς ἄνεσιν τῆς λύπης καὶ παῦλαν τῶν πενθικῶν καὶ ματαίων ὀδυρμῶν.

"ψυχῆς[1]" γὰρ "νοσούσης εἰσὶν ἰατροὶ λόγοι,
ὅταν τις ἐν καιρῷ γε μαλθάσσῃ κέαρ."

κατὰ γὰρ τὸν σοφὸν Εὐριπίδην

ἄλλο δέ γ'[2] ἐπ' ἄλλῃ φάρμακον κεῖται νόσῳ·
λυπουμένῳ μὲν μῦθος εὐμενὴς φίλων,
ἄγαν δὲ μωραίνοντι νουθετήματα.

C πολλῶν γὰρ ὄντων ψυχικῶν παθῶν, ἡ λύπη τὸ χαλεπώτατον πέφυκεν εἶναι πάντων·

"διὰ λύπην γάρ," φασί, "καὶ μανίαν γίγνεσθαι[3]
πολλοῖσι[4] καὶ νοσήματ' οὐκ ἰάσιμα,
αὑτούς τ' ἀνῃρήκασι διὰ λύπην τινές."

3. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀλγεῖν καὶ δάκνεσθαι τελευτήσαντος υἱοῦ φυσικὴν ἔχει τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς λύπης, καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε συμφέρομαι τοῖς ὑμνοῦσι τὴν ἄγριον καὶ σκληρὰν ἀπάθειαν, ἔξω καὶ τοῦ δυνατοῦ καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος οὖσαν· ἀφαιρήσεται γὰρ ἡμῶν αὕτη τὴν ἐκ τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι D καὶ φιλεῖν εὔνοιαν, ἣν παντὸς μᾶλλον διασῴζειν ἀναγκαῖον. τὸ δὲ πέρα τοῦ μέτρου παρεκφέρεσθαι καὶ συναύξειν τὰ πένθη παρὰ φύσιν εἶναί φημι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν φαύλης γίγνεσθαι δόξης. διὸ καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐατέον ὡς βλαβερὸν καὶ φαῦλον καὶ σπουδαίοις ἀνδράσιν ἥκιστα πρέπον, τὴν δὲ

[1] ψυχῆς] ὀργῆς Aeschylus mss., but ψυχῆς was an ancient variant as attested *e.g.* by Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* iii. 31.

[2] ἄλλο δέ γ'] ἄλλ' all mss. but one.

[3] Apparently adapted to fit the construction; the original, καὶ μανία γίγνεται πολλοῖσι, is found in Stobaeus, *Flor.* xcix. 1.

[4] πολλοῖσι Stobaeus: πολλοῖς.

the mitigation of grief and the termination of mournful and vain lamentations. For

> Words are physicians for an ailing mind,
> When at the fitting time one soothes the heart.[a]

Since, according to the wise Euripides,[b]

> For divers ills are remedies diverse:
> The kindly speech of friends for one in grief,
> And admonitions when one plays the fool.

Indeed, though there are many emotions that affect the soul, yet grief, from its nature, is the most cruel of all. They say:

> To many there doth come because of grief
> Insanity and ills incurable,
> And some for grief have ended their own life.[c]

3. The pain and pang felt at the death of a son has in itself good cause to awaken grief, which is only natural, and over it we have no control. For I, for my part, cannot concur with those who extol that harsh and callous indifference, which is both impossible and unprofitable.[d] For this will rob us of the kindly feeling which comes from mutual affection and which above all else we must conserve. But to be carried beyond all bounds and to help in exaggerating our griefs I say is contrary to nature, and results from our depraved ideas. Therefore this also must be dismissed as injurious and depraved and most unbecoming to right-minded men, but a moderate indulgence

[a] Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, 379.
[b] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 962. The last two lines are cited *supra* 69 D.
[c] From Philemon; *cf.* Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* ii. p. 512, Philemon, No. 106, where additional lines are given.
[d] *Cf.* Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, iii. 6 (12).

(102) μετριοπάθειαν οὐκ ἀποδοκιμαστέον. "μὴ γὰρ νοσοῖμεν" φησὶν ὁ ἀκαδημαϊκὸς Κράντωρ, "νοσήσασι δὲ παρείη τις αἴσθησις, εἴτ' οὖν τέμνοιτό τι τῶν ἡμετέρων εἴτ' ἀποσπῷτο." τὸ γὰρ ἀνώδυνον τοῦτ' οὐκ ἄνευ μεγάλων ἐγγίγνεται μισθῶν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· τεθηριῶσθαι γὰρ εἰκὸς ἐκεῖ μὲν σῶμα
E τοιοῦτον ἐνταῦθα δὲ ψυχήν.

4. Οὔτ' οὖν ἀπαθεῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων συμφορῶν ὁ λόγος ἀξιοῖ γίγνεσθαι τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας οὔτε δυσπαθεῖς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄτεγκτον καὶ θηριῶδες, τὸ δ' ἐκλελυμένον καὶ γυναικοπρεπές. εὐλόγιστος δ' ὁ τὸν οἰκεῖον ὅρον ἔχων καὶ δυνάμενος φέρειν δεξιῶς τά τε προσηνῆ καὶ τὰ λυπηρὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ συμβαινόντων, καὶ προειληφὼς ὅτι καθάπερ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ κλῆρός ἐστι τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ δεῖ λαχόντα μὲν ἄρχειν ἀπολαχόντα δὲ φέρειν ἀνεπαχθῶς τὴν τύχην, οὕτω καὶ τῇ διανομῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνεγκλήτως καὶ πειθηνίως ἕπεσθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι ποιεῖν οὐδὲ τὰς εὐ-
F πραγίας ἂν ἐμφρόνως φέρειν δύναιντο καὶ μετρίως.

Τῶν μὲν γὰρ καλῶς λεγομένων ἐστὶν ἐν ὑποθήκης μέρει καὶ τοῦτο,

μηδ' εὐτύχημα μηδὲν ὧδ' ἔστω μέγα,
ὅ σ' ἐξεπαρεῖ μεῖζον ἢ χρεὼν φρονεῖν,
μηδ' ἄν τι συμβῇ δυσχερές, δουλοῦ πάλιν,
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αἰεὶ μίμνε, τὴν σαυτοῦ φύσιν
σῴζων βεβαίως, ὥστε χρυσὸς ἐν πυρί.

πεπαιδευμένων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν πρός

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[a] *Cf.* Mullach, *Frag. Philos. Graec.* iii. p. 146; Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, iii. 6 (12).

in grief is not to be disapproved. "Pray that we be not ill," says Crantor[a] of the Academy, "but if we be ill, pray that sensation be left us, whether one of our members be cut off or torn out." For this insensibility to pain[b] is attained by man only at a great price; for in the former case, we may suppose, it is the body which has been brutalized into such insensibility, but in the latter case the soul.

4. Reason therefore requires that men of understanding should be neither indifferent in such calamities nor extravagantly affected; for the one course is unfeeling and brutal, the other lax and effeminate. Sensible is he who keeps within appropriate bounds and is able to bear judiciously both the agreeable and the grievous in his lot, and who has made up his mind beforehand to conform uncomplainingly and obediently to the dispensation of things; just as in a democracy there is an allotment of offices, and he who draws the lot holds office, while he who fails to do so must bear his fortune without taking offence. For those who cannot do this would be unable sensibly and soberly to abide good fortune either.

Among the felicitous utterances the following piece of advice is to the point:

> Let no success be so unusual
> That it excite in you too great a pride,
> Nor abject be in turn, if ill betide;
> But ever be the same; preserve unchanged
> Your nature, like to gold when tried by fire.[c]

It is the mark of educated and disciplined men to

[b] Such Stoicism was required by the stricter Stoic school, but the philosophers of the Academy would have none of it.

[c] From an unknown play of Euripides; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 963.

103 τε τὰς δοκούσας εὐτυχίας τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀτυχίας φυλάξαι γενναίως τὸ πρέπον. τῆς γὰρ εὐλογιστίας ἔργον ἐστὶν ἢ φυλάξασθαι τὸ κακὸν ἐπιφερόμενον ἢ διορθώσασθαι γενόμενον ἢ συστεῖλαι πρὸς τὸ βραχύτατον ἢ παρασκευάζειν αὑτῷ τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἄρρενα καὶ γενναίαν. καὶ γὰρ περὶ τἀγαθὸν ἡ φρόνησις πραγματεύεται τετραχῶς, ἢ κτωμένη τἀγαθὰ ἢ φυλάττουσα ἢ αὔξουσα ἢ χρωμένη δεξιῶς. οὗτοι τῆς φρονήσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν εἰσι κανόνες, οἷς πρὸς ἀμφότερα χρηστέον.

B "οὐκ ἔστιν" γὰρ "ὅστις πάντ' ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖ"

καὶ νὴ Δία

τό τοι χρεὼν οὐκ ἔστι μὴ χρεὼν ποιεῖν.

5. Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν φυτοῖς ποτὲ μὲν πολυκαρπίαι γίγνονται ποτὲ δ' ἀκαρπίαι, καὶ ἐν ζῴοις ποτὲ μὲν πολυγονίαι ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἀγονίαι, καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ εὐδίαι τε καὶ χειμῶνες, οὕτω καὶ ἐν βίῳ πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι περιστάσεις γιγνόμεναι πρὸς τὰς ἐναντίας περιάγουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τύχας. εἰς ἃς διαβλέψας ἄν τις οὐκ ἀπεικότως εἴποι,

οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶσίν σ' ἐφύτευσ' ἀγαθοῖς,
C Ἀγάμεμνον, Ἀτρεύς.
δεῖ δέ σε χαίρειν καὶ λυπεῖσθαι·
θνητὸς γὰρ ἔφυς. κἂν μὴ σὺ θέλῃς,
τὰ θεῶν οὕτω βουλόμεν'[1] ἔσται

καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ Μενάνδρου ῥηθὲν

[1] βουλόμεν' Euripides mss.: βουλομένων.

[a] From the *Stheneboea* of Euripides, *ibid.* No. 661.
[b] Author unknown; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespot. No. 368.

keep the same habit of mind toward seeming prosperity, and nobly to maintain a becoming attitude toward adversity. For it is the task of rational prudence, either to be on guard against evil as it approaches, or, if it have already happened, to rectify it or to minimize it or to provide oneself with a virile and noble patience to endure it. For wisdom deals also with the good, in a fourfold way—either acquiring a store of goods, or conserving them, or adding to them, or using them judiciously. These are the laws of wisdom and of the other virtues, and they must be followed for better fortune or for worse. For

> No man exists who's blest in everything,[a]

and truly

> What thou must do cannot be made "must not."[b]

5. For as there are in plants at one time seasons of fruitage and at another time seasons of unfruitfulness, and in animals at one time fecundity and at another time barrenness, and on the sea both fair weather and storm, so also in life many diverse circumstances occur which bring about a reversal of human fortunes. As one contemplates these reversals he might say not inappropriately:

> Not for good and no ill came thy life from thy sire,
> Agamemnon, but joy
> Thou shalt find interwoven with grief;
> For a mortal thou art. Though against thy desire
> Yet the plans of the gods will so have it.[c]

and the words of Menander[d]:

[c] Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, 29; *cf. Moralia*, 33 E.
[d] *Cf.* Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 155, No. 531, and Allinson, *Menander* (in L.C.L.), p. 478.

(103) *εἰ γὰρ ἐγένου σύ, τρόφιμε, τῶν πάντων μόνος,*
ὅτ' ἔτικτεν ἡ μήτηρ σ', ἐφ' ᾧ τε[1] διατελεῖν
πράττων[2] ἃ βούλει καὶ διευτυχῶν ἀεί,
καὶ τοῦτο τῶν θεῶν τις ὡμολόγησέ σοι,
ὀρθῶς ἀγανακτεῖς· ἔστι γάρ σ'[3] ἐψευσμένος,
ἄτοπόν τε πεποίηκ'. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις
ἐφ' οἷσπερ ἡμεῖς ἔσπασας τὸν ἀέρα
D *τὸν κοινόν, ἵνα σοι καὶ τραγικώτερον λαλῶ,*
οἰστέον ἄμεινον ταῦτα καὶ λογιστέον.
τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τῶν λόγων, ἄνθρωπος εἶ,
οὗ μεταβολὴν θᾶττον πρὸς ὕψος καὶ πάλιν
ταπεινότητα ζῷον οὐδὲν λαμβάνει.
καὶ μάλα δικαίως· ἀσθενέστατον γὰρ ὂν
φύσει μεγίστοις οἰκονομεῖται πράγμασιν,
ὅταν πέσῃ δέ, πλεῖστα συντρίβει καλά.
σὺ δ' οὔθ' ὑπερβάλλοντα, τρόφιμ', ἀπώλεσας
E *ἀγαθά, τὰ νυνί[4] τ'[5] ἐστὶ μέτριά σοι κακά.*
ὥστ' ἀνὰ μέσον που καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὂν[6] φέρε.

ἀλλ' ὅμως τοιούτων ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἔνιοι διὰ τὴν ἀφροσύνην οὕτως εἰσὶν ἀβέλτεροι καὶ κεναυχεῖς, ὥστε μικρὸν ἐπαρθέντες ἢ διὰ χρημάτων περιουσίαν ἄφθονον ἢ διὰ μέγεθος ἀρχῆς ἢ διά τινας προεδρίας πολιτικὰς ἢ διὰ τιμὰς καὶ δόξας
F *ἐπαπειλεῖν τοῖς ἥττοσι καὶ ἐξυβρίζειν, οὐκ ἐνθυμούμενοι τὸ τῆς τύχης ἄστατον καὶ ἀβέβαιον, οὐδ' ὅτι ῥᾳδίως τὰ ὑψηλὰ γίγνεται ταπεινὰ καὶ τὰ χθαμαλὰ πάλιν ὑψοῦται ταῖς ὀξυρρόποις μεθιστάμενα τῆς τύχης μεταβολαῖς. ζητεῖν οὖν ἐν ἀβεβαίοις βέβαιόν τι λογιζομένων ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ ὀρθῶς·*

[1] *τε* Schaefer: *γε*.
[2] *πράττων* (the regular form) Kock: *πράσσων*.

If you alone, young master, at your birth
Had gained the right to do whate'er you would
Throughout your life, and ever be in luck,
And if some god agreed to this with you,
Then you have right to feel aggrieved. He has
Deceived and strangely treated you. But if
Upon the selfsame terms as we, you drew
The primal breath of universal life
(To speak you somewhat in the tragic style),
You must endure this better, and use sense.
To sum up all I say, you are a man,
Than which no thing that lives can swifter be
Exalted high and straight brought low again.
And rightly so; for though of puny frame,
He yet doth handle many vast affairs,
And, falling, ruins great prosperity.
But you, young master, have not forfeited
Surpassing good, and these your present ills
But moderate are; so bear without excess
What Fortune may hereafter bring to you.

But, in spite of this condition of affairs, some persons, through their foolishness, are so silly and conceited, that, when only a little exalted, either because of abundance of money, or importance of office, or petty political preferments, or because of position and repute, they threaten and insult those in lower station, not bearing in mind the uncertainty and inconstancy of fortune, nor yet the fact that the lofty is easily brought low and the humble in turn is exalted, transposed by the swift-moving changes of fortune. Therefore to try to find any constancy in what is inconstant is a trait of people who do not rightly reason about the circumstances of life. For

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[3] *σ'* added by Grotius.

[4] *τὰ νυνί* Bentley: *τὰ νῦν*.

[5] *τ'* Hercher: *δ'*.

[6] *ὂν* added by Bernardakis. Perhaps *τὸ λυπηρὸν* (Nauck) or *τὸ νῦν λυποῦν* (Grotius) would be better.

"*τροχοῦ*" *γὰρ* "*περιστείχοντος ἄλλοθ' ἡτέρα*
ἁψὶς ὕπερθε γίγνετ' ἄλλοθ' ἡτέρα."

6. *Κράτιστον δὴ πρὸς ἀλυπίαν φάρμακον ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ διὰ τούτου παρασκευὴ πρὸς πάσας τοῦ βίου τὰς μεταβολάς. χρὴ γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἑαυτὸν εἰδέναι θνητὸν ὄντα τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι θνητῷ σύγκληρός ἐστι βίῳ καὶ πράγμασι ῥᾳδίως μεθισταμένοις*
101 *πρὸς τοὐναντίον. ἀνθρώπων γὰρ ὄντως θνητὰ μὲν καὶ ἐφήμερα*[1] *τὰ σώματα, θνηταὶ δὲ τύχαι*[1] *καὶ πάθη καὶ πάνθ' ἁπλῶς τὰ κατὰ τὸν βίον, ἅπερ*

οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ' ὑπαλύξαι

τὸ παράπαν ἀλλά

Ταρτάρου πυθμὴν πιέζει σ' ἀφανοῦς σφυρηλάτοις
ἀνάγκαις[2]

ὥς φησι Πίνδαρος. ὅθεν ὀρθῶς ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος εἰπόντος Εὐριπίδου

ὁ δ' ὄλβος οὐ βέβαιος ἀλλ' ἐφήμερος

καὶ ὅτι

μίκρ' ἄττα τὰ[3] *σφάλλοντα, καὶ μί' ἡμέρα*
τὰ μὲν καθεῖλεν ὑψόθεν τὰ δ' ἦρ' ἄνω

B *τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλῶς ἔφη λέγειν αὐτὸν βέλτιον δ' ἔχειν ἄν,*[4] *εἰ μὴ μίαν ἡμέραν ἀλλὰ στιγμὴν εἶπε χρόνου.*

[1] Kronenberg would read *κἀφήμερα . . . δ' αἱ τύχαι τε*, making iambic verses of *θνητὰ . . . πάθη*.
[2] *ἀνάγκαις*] *δεσμοῖς ἀνάγκας* Bergk.
[3] *μίκρ' ἄττα τὰ* Bernardakis: *μικρότατα* (*ὡς μικρὰ τὰ* Stobaeus, *Flor.* cv. 1).
[4] *ἔχειν ἄν*] *ἂν ἔχειν* Wyttenbach, *ἔχον ἦν* Hercher: *εἶχεν ὂν* (or *ἄν*).

The wheel goes round, and of the rim now one
And now another part is at the top.[a]

6. Reason is the best remedy for the cure of grief, reason and the preparedness through reason for all the changes of life. For one ought to realize, not merely that he himself is mortal by nature, but also that he is allotted to a life that is mortal and to conditions which readily reverse themselves. For men's bodies are indeed mortal, lasting but a day, and mortal is all that they experience and suffer, and, in a word, everything in life ; and all this

May not be escaped nor avoided by mortals[b]

at all, but

The depths of unseen Tartarus hold you fast by hard-forged necessities,

as Pindar[c] says. Whence Demetrius of Phalerum was quite right when, in reference to a saying of Euripides[d] :

Wealth is inconstant, lasting but a day,

and also :

Small things may cause an overthrow ; one day
Puts down the mighty and exalts the low,[e]

he said that it was almost all admirably put, but it would have been better if he had said not "one day," but "one second of time."

[a] Author unknown ; *cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* iii. p. 740.
[b] Homer, *Il.* xii. 326.
[c] Pindar, *Frag.* 207 (ed. Christ).
[d] *Phoenissae*, 558.
[e] See note *a* on next page.

(104) κύκλος γὰρ αὑτὸς καρπίμοις τε γῆς φυτοῖς
γένει βροτῶν τε.[1] τοῖς μὲν αὔξεται βίος,
τῶν δὲ φθίνει τε κἀκθερίζεται πάλιν.

ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος ἐν ἄλλοις

τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὔ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ
ἄνθρωπος

ἐμφαντικῶς σφόδρα καὶ φιλοτέχνως ὑπερβολῇ χρησάμενος τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ἐδήλωσε. τί γὰρ σκιᾶς ἀσθενέστερον; τὸ δὲ ταύτης ὄναρ οὐδ'
C ἂν ἐκφράσαι τις ἕτερος[2] δυνηθείη σαφῶς. τούτοις δ' ἑπόμενος καὶ ὁ Κράντωρ παραμυθούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν τέκνων τελευτῇ τὸν Ἱπποκλέα φησί· "ταῦτα γὰρ πᾶσα αὕτη ἡ ἀρχαία φιλοσοφία λέγει τε καὶ παρακελεύεται. ὧν εἰ δή τι ἄλλο μὴ ἀποδεχόμεθα, τό γε πολλαχῇ εἶναι ἐργώδη καὶ δύσκολον τὸν βίον ἄγαν ἀληθές. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ φύσει τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, ὑπό γ' ἡμῶν εἰς τοῦτ' ἀφῖκται διαφθορᾶς. ἥ τ' ἄδηλος αὕτη τύχη πόρρωθεν ἡμῖν καὶ ἔτ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἠκολούθηκεν οὐδ' ἐφ' ἑνὶ ὑγιεῖ, φυομένοις τε μίγνυταί τις ἐν πᾶσι κακοῦ μοῖρα· τὰ γάρ τοι σπέρματα εὐθὺς θνητὰ ὄντα ταύτης κοινωνεῖ τῆς αἰτίας, ἐξ ἧς ἀφυΐα μὲν ψυχῆς, νόσοι τε καὶ κήδεα καὶ μοῖρα θνητῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἡμῖν ἕρπει."

D Τοῦ δὴ χάριν ἐτραπόμεθα δεῦρο; ἵν' εἰδείημεν ὅτι καινὸν ἀτυχεῖν οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπῳ ἀλλὰ πάντες

[1] θνητῶν τε γενεᾷ most mss. and Stobaeus, *Flor.* cv. 19.
[2] ἕτερος] ἑτέρως Meziriacus.

[a] Both this and the preceding quotation are from the *Ino*

Alike the cycle of earth's fruitful plants
And mortal men. For some life grows apace,
While others perish and are gathered home.[a]

And elsewhere Pindar[b] says :

Somebody ? Nobody ? Which is which ?
A dream of a shadow is man.

Very vividly and skilfully did he use this extravagance of expression in making clear the life of mankind. For what is feebler than a shadow ? And a dream of it !—that is something which defies any clear description. In similar strain Crantor,[c] endeavouring to comfort Hippocles upon the death of his children, says : "All our ancient philosophy states this and urges it upon us ; and though there be therein other things which we do not accept, yet at any rate the statement that life is oftentimes toilsome and hard is only too true. For even if it is not so by nature, yet through our own selves it has reached this state of corruption. From a distant time, yes from the beginning, this uncertain fortune has attended us and to no good end, and even at our birth there is conjoined with us a portion of evil in everything. For the very seed of our life, since it is mortal, participates in this causation, and from this there steal upon us defectiveness of soul, diseases of body, loss of friends by death, and the common portion of mortals."

For what reason have we turned our thoughts in this direction ? It is that we may know that misfortune is nothing novel for man, but that we all have

of Euripides ; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, Nos. 420 and 415, where additional lines are given.

[b] *Pyth.* viii. 135.

[c] *Cf.* Mullach, *Frag. Philos. Graec.* iii. p. 147.

(104 ταὐτὸ πεπόνθαμεν. "ἄσκοπος γὰρ ἡ τύχη," φησὶν ὁ Θεόφραστος, "καὶ δεινὴ παρελέσθαι τὰ προπεπονημένα καὶ μεταρρῖψαι τὴν δοκοῦσαν εὐημερίαν, οὐδένα καιρὸν ἔχουσα τακτόν." ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἑκάστῳ λογίσασθαι ῥᾴδιον, καὶ ἄλλων ἀκοῦσαι παλαιῶν καὶ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν· ὧν πρῶτος μέν ἐστιν ὁ θεῖος Ὅμηρος, εἰπών,

οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαῖα τρέφει ἀνθρώποιο.
οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτέ φησι κακὸν πείσεσθαι ὀπίσσω,
ὄφρ' ἀρετὴν παρέχωσι θεοὶ καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρῃ·
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ λυγρὰ θεοὶ μάκαρες τελέουσι,[1]
E καὶ τὰ φέρει ἀεκαζόμενος τετληότι θυμῷ

καί

τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,
οἷον ἐπ' ἦμαρ ἄγῃσι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε

καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις

Τυδείδη μεγάθυμε, τίη γενεὴν ἐρεείνεις;
οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.
φύλλα τὰ μέν τ' ἄνεμος αμ δις χέει, ἄλλα δέ θ' ὕλη
τηλεθόωσα φύει, ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη[2]·
ὣς ἀνδρῶν γενεὴ ἡ μὲν φύει[3] ἡ δ' ἀπολήγει."

F ταύτῃ δ' ὅτι καλῶς ἐχρήσατο τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου βίου δῆλον ἐξ ὧν ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ φησὶν οὕτω,

[1] τελέουσι] τελέσωσι Homer, σ 133.
[2] ὥ η] ὥρῃ many Homeric MSS.
[3] φ ει] the original reading was undoubtedly φύεθ', *i.e.* φύετ(αι).

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[a] Frag. 73 (ed. Wimmer).
[b] *Od.* xviii. 130. [c] *Od.* xviii. 136.

had the same experience of it. For Theophrastus [a] says: "Fortune is heedless, and she has a wonderful power to take away the fruits of our labours and to overturn our seeming tranquillity, and for doing this she has no fixed season." These matters, and others like them, it is easy for each man to reason out for himself, and to learn them from wise men of old besides; of whom the first is the divine Homer, who said [b]:

Nothing more wretched than man doth the earth support on its bosom,
Never, he says to himself, shall he suffer from evil hereafter,
Never, so long as the gods give him strength and his knees are still nimble;
Then when the blessed gods bring upon him grievous affliction,
Still he endures his misfortune, reluctant but steadfast in spirit.

And:

Such is the mood of the men who here on the earth are abiding,
E'en as the day which the father of men and of gods brings upon them.[c]

And in another place:

Great-hearted son of Tydeus, why do you ask of my fathers?
As is the race of the leaves, such too is that of all mortals.
Some of the leaves doth the wind scatter earthward, and others the forest
Budding puts forth in profusion, and springtime is coming upon us.
Thus is man's race: one enters on life, and another's life ceases.[d]

That he has admirably made use of this image of human life is clear from what he says in another place, in these words:

[d] *Il.* vi. 145.

βροτῶν ἕνεκα πτολεμίζειν[1]
δειλῶν, οἳ φύλλοισιν ἐοικότες, ἄλλοτε μέν τε
ζαφλεγέες τελέθουσιν ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδοντες,
ἄλλοτε δὲ φθινύθουσιν ἀκήριοι, οὐδέ τις ἀλκή.[2]

105 Σιμωνίδης δ' ὁ τῶν μελῶν ποιητής, Παυσανίου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων μεγαλαυχουμένου συνεχῶς ἐπὶ ταῖς αὑτοῦ πράξεσι καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπαγγεῖλαί τι αὐτῷ σοφὸν μετὰ χλευασμοῦ, συνεὶς αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν συνεβούλευε μεμνῆσθαι ὅτι ἄνθρωπός ἐστι.

Φίλιππος δ' ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς τριῶν αὐτῷ προσαγγελθέντων εὐτυχημάτων ὑφ' ἕνα καιρόν, πρώτου μὲν ὅτι τεθρίππῳ νενίκηκεν Ὀλύμπια, δευτέρου δ' ὅτι Παρμενίων ὁ στρατηγὸς μάχῃ
B Δαρδανεῖς ἐνίκησε, τρίτου δ' ὅτι ἄρρεν αὐτῷ παιδίον ἐκύησεν[3] Ὀλυμπιάς, ἀνατείνας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας "ὦ δαῖμον," εἶπε, "μέτριόν τι τούτοις ἀντίθες ἐλάττωμα," εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖς μεγάλοις εὐτυχήμασι φθονεῖν πέφυκεν ἡ τύχη.

Θηραμένης δ' ὁ γενόμενος Ἀθήνησι τῶν τριάκοντα τυράννων, συμπεσούσης τῆς οἰκίας ἐν ᾗ μετὰ πλειόνων ἐδείπνει, μόνος σωθεὶς καὶ πρὸς πάντων εὐδαιμονιζόμενος, ἀναφωνήσας μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ, "ὦ τύχη," εἶπεν, "εἰς τίνα με καιρὸν ἄρα φυλάττεις;" μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον καταστρεβλωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν συντυράννων ἐτελεύτησεν.

[1] πτολεμίζειν] πτολεμίζω (πτολεμίξω) of Homer, Φ 463, is adapted to fit the construction.
[2] οὐδέ τις ἀλκή] ἀλλὰ τάχιστα κτλ. Homer.
[3] ἐκύησεν] τέτοκεν ἡ in one MS., perhaps rightly.

[a] *Il.* xxi. 463.
[b] *Cf.* Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ix. 21.
[c] *Cf.* *Moralia* 177 c and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. iii. (p. 666 A).

To fight for the sake of mortals
Wretched, who like to the leaves, at the one time all ardent
Come to their fitting perfection, and eat of the fruit of their acres;
Then again helpless they perish, nor is there aught that can help them.[a]

Pausanias, king of the Lacedaemonians, who persistently boasted of his own exploits, mockingly urged the lyric poet Simonides to rehearse for him some wise saying, whereupon the poet, being fully cognizant of his conceit, advised him to remember that he was only human.[b]

Philip, the king of the Macedonians, happened to have three pieces of good news reported to him all at once: the first, that he was victor at the Olympic games in the race of the four-horse chariots; the second, that Parmenio, his general, had vanquished the Dardanians in battle, and the third, that Olympias had borne him a male child; whereupon, stretching out his hands toward the heavens, he said: "O God, offset all this by some moderate misfortune!" For he well knew that in cases of great prosperity fortune is wont to be jealous.[c]

While Theramenes, who afterwards became one of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, was dining with several others, the house, in which they were, collapsed, and he was the only one to escape death; but as he was being congratulated by everybody, he raised his voice and exclaimed in a loud tone, "O Fortune, for what occasion are you reserving me?" And not long afterward he came to his end by torture at the hands of his fellow tyrants.[d]

[d] He was condemned to drink hemlock, according to the usual tradition; *cf.* Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 3. 54-56, and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ix. 21.

(105) 7. Ὑπερφυῶς δὲ φαίνεται περὶ τὴν παραμυθίαν
C ὁ ποιητὴς εὐδοκιμεῖν, ποιήσας τὸν Ἀχιλλέα λέγοντα πρὸς τὸν Πρίαμον ἥκοντα ἐπὶ λύτρα τοῦ Ἕκτορος ταυτί·

ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ κατ' ἄρ' ἕζευ ἐπὶ θρόνου, ἄλγεα δ' ἔμπης
ἐν θυμῷ κατακεῖσθαι ἐάσομεν ἀχνύμενοί περ·
οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις πέλεται κρυεροῖο γόοιο.
ὣς γὰρ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι,
ζώειν ἀχνυμένοις· αὐτοὶ δέ τ' ἀκηδέες εἰσί.
δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει
δώρων οἷα δίδωσι, κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἐάων.
ᾧ μέν κ' ἀμμείξας δώῃ Ζεὺς τερπικέραυνος,
D ἄλλοτε μέν τε κακῷ ὅ γε κύρεται ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῷ·
ᾧ δέ κε τῶν λυγρῶν δώῃ, λωβητὸν ἔθηκε
καί ἑ κακὴ βούβρωστις ἐπὶ χθόνα δῖαν ἐλαύνει,
φοιτᾷ δ' οὔτε θεοῖσι τετιμένος οὔτε βροτοῖσιν.

ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον καὶ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ, καίτοι τῶν Μουσῶν ἀναγορεύων ἑαυτὸν μαθητὴν Ἡσίοδος, καὶ οὗτος ἐν πίθῳ καθείρξας τὰ κακά, τὴν Πανδώραν ἀνοίξασαν ἀποφαίνει σκεδάσαι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, λέγων ὧδε·

ἀλλὰ γυνὴ χείρεσσι πίθου μέγα πῶμ' ἀφελοῦσα
E ἐσκέδασ'· ἀνθρώποισι δὲ μήσατο κήδεα λυγρά.

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[a] Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 522 ; *cf.* also *Moralia*, 20 F and 22 B.

[b] Such is the meaning of the passage as here quoted from Homer ; but in two other places (*De audiendis poetis*, 24 B, and *De exilio*, 600 D) Plutarch follows Plato (*Republic*, p. 379 D), who wrote κηρῶν ἔμπλειοι, ὁ μὲν ἐσθλῶν αὐτὰρ ὁ δειλῶν, thus making one urn of evil and one of good. Metrical considerations make it more than probable that the line

7. The Poet[a] is regarded as extraordinarily successful in bestowing consolation, where he represents Achilles as speaking to Priam, who has come to ransom Hector, as follows:

Come then and rest on a seat; let us suffer our sorrows to slumber
Quietly now in our bosoms, in spite of our woeful afflictions;
Nothing is ever accomplished by yielding to chill lamentation.
Thus, then, the gods have spun the fate of unhappy mortals,
Ever to live in distress, but themselves are free from all trouble.
Fixed on Zeus' floor two massive urns stand for ever,
Filled with gifts of all ills that he gives, and another[b] of blessings;
He on whom Zeus, god of thunder, bestows their contents commingled
Sometimes meets with the good, and again he meets only with evil.
Him upon whom he bestows what is baneful he makes wholly wretched;
Ravenous hunger drives him o'er the earth's goodly bosom,
Hither and thither he goes, unhonoured of gods or of mortals.

Hesiod, who, although he proclaimed himself the disciple of the Muses, is nevertheless second to Homer in reputation as well as in time, also confines the evils in a great urn and represents Pandora as opening it and scattering the host of them over the whole land and sea. His words[c] are as follows:

Then with her hands did the woman, uplifting the urn's massive cover,
Let them go as they would; and on men she brought woeful afflictions.

found in Plato was not taken from Homer, but it is only fair to say that these considerations could have had no weight with Plutarch.

[c] *Works and Days*, 94; *cf.* also *Moralia*, 115 A and 127 D.

μούνη δ' αὐτόθι Ἐλπὶς ἐν ἀρρήκτοισι δόμοισιν
ἔνδον ἔμεινε πίθου ὑπὸ χείλεσιν, οὐδὲ θύραζε
ἐξέπτη· πρόσθεν γὰρ ἐπέλλαβε[1] πῶμα πίθοιο.
ἄλλα δὲ μυρία λυγρὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀλάληται.
πλείη μὲν γὰρ γαῖα κακῶν, πλείη δὲ θάλασσα.
νοῦσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ αἳ δ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ
αὐτόματοι φοιτῶσι, κακὰ θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι
σιγῇ, ἐπεὶ φωνὴν ἐξείλετο μητίετα Ζεύς.

F 8. Ἀπηρτημένως δὲ τούτοις ὁ κωμικὸς ἐπὶ τῶν δυσπαθούντων ἐπὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς ταυτὶ λέγει·

εἰ τὰ δάκρυ' ἡμῖν τῶν κακῶν ἦν φάρμακον,
ἀεί[2] θ' ὁ κλαύσας τοῦ πονεῖν ἐπαύετο,
ἠλλαττόμεσθ' ἂν δάκρυα, δόντες χρυσίον.
νῦν δ' οὐ προσέχει τὰ πράγματ' οὐδ' ἀποβλέπει
εἰς ταῦτα, δέσποτ', ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν,
ἐάν τε κλάῃς ἄν τε μή, πορεύεται.
τί οὖν πλέον ποιοῦμεν[3]; οὐδέν· ἡ λύπη δ' ἔχει
106 ὥσπερ τὰ δένδρα[3] ταῦτα[4] καρπὸν τὰ δάκρυα.[3]

ὁ δὲ παραμυθούμενος τὴν Δανάην δυσπαθοῦσαν Δίκτυς φησί·

δοκεῖς τὸν Ἅιδην σῶν τι φροντίζειν γόων
καὶ παῖδ' ἀνήσειν τὸν σόν, εἰ θέλοις στένειν;
παῦσαι· βλέπουσα δ' εἰς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ
ῥᾴων γένοι' ἄν, εἰ λογίζεσθαι θέλοις
ὅσοι τε δεσμοῖς ἐκμεμόχθηνται[5] βροτῶν,

[1] ἐπέμβαλε most MSS. of Hesiod.
[2] ἀεί Stobaeus, *Flor.* cviii. 1 : αἰεί.
[3] τί δὴ ποιεῖς πλέον . . . τὸ δένδρον . . . τὸ δάκρυον Stobaeus cviii. 1 and cxxii. 12.
[4] ταῦτα F.C.B. : τοῦτο.
[5] ἐκμεμόχθηνται] ἐμμεμόχλευνται Bentley.

Hope alone where it was, with its place of abode yet undamaged,
Under the rim of the urn still tarried; nor into the open
Winged its way forth; for before it escaped she had put on the cover.
More are the woes unnumbered among men now freely ranging.
Full is the land now of evils, and full of them too is the ocean:
Illnesses come upon men in the daytime, and others at night-time;
Hither and thither they go, of themselves bringing evils to mortals;
Silent they go, since the wisdom of Zeus has deprived them of voices.

8. Closely allied with this are the following words of the comic poet[a] spoken with reference to those whose grief over such calamities is excessive:

If only tears were remedy for ills,
And he who weeps obtained surcease of woe,
Then we should purchase tears by giving gold.
But as it is, events that come to pass,
My master, do not mind nor heed these things,
But, whether you shed tears or not, pursue
The even tenor of their way. What then
Do we accomplish by our weeping? Naught.
But as the trees have fruit, grief has these tears.

And Dictys, who is trying to console Danaë in her excessive grief, says:

Think you that Hades minds your moans at all,
And will send back your child if you will groan?
Desist. By viewing close your neighbour's ills
You might be more composed,—if you reflect
How many mortals have to toil in bonds,

[a] Philemon, in the *Sardius*; *cf.* Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* ii. p. 497, Philemon, No. 73.

(106) ὅσοι τε γηράσκουσιν ὀρφανοὶ τέκνων,
τούς τ' ἐκ μέγιστον[1] ὀλβίας τυραννίδος
B τὸ μηδὲν ὄντας. ταῦτά σε σκοπεῖν χρεών.

κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν ἴσα καὶ μείζω δυστυχούντων, ὡς ἐσομένην ἐλαφροτέραν.

9. Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἄν τις ἑλκύσειε καὶ τὴν τοῦ Σωκράτους φωνήν, τὴν οἰομένην, εἰ συνεισενέγκαιμεν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τὰς ἀτυχίας, ὥστε διελέσθαι τὸ ἴσον ἕκαστον, ἀσμένως ἂν τοὺς πλείους τὰς αὑτῶν λαβόντας ἀπελθεῖν.

Ἐχρήσατο δὲ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἀγωγῇ καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ὁ ποιητής. ἀποθανούσης γὰρ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῷ Λύδης, πρὸς ἣν φιλοστόργως εἶχε, παραμύθιον τῆς λύπης αὑτῷ ἐποίησε τὴν ἐλεγείαν τὴν καλουμένην C Λύδην, ἐξαριθμησάμενος τὰς ἡρωικὰς συμφοράς, τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς ἐλάττω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ποιῶν λύπην. ὥστε καταφανὲς εἶναι ὅτι ὁ παραμυθούμενος τὸν λελυπημένον καὶ δεικνύων κοινὸν καὶ πολλῶν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς καὶ τῶν καὶ ἑτέροις συμβεβηκότων ἔλαττον[2] τὴν δόξαν τοῦ λελυπημένου μεθίστησι καὶ τοιαύτην τινὰ ποιεῖ πίστιν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἔλαττον ἢ ἡλίκον ᾤετο τὸ συμβεβηκός ἐστιν.

10. Ὁ δ' Αἰσχύλος καλῶς ἔοικεν ἐπιπλήττειν τοῖς νομίζουσι τὸν θάνατον εἶναι κακόν, λέγων ὧδε·

ὡς οὐ δικαίως θάνατον ἔχθουσιν βροτοί,
ὅσπερ μέγιστον ῥῦμα τῶν πολλῶν κακῶν.

τοῦτον γὰρ ἀπεμιμήσατο καὶ ὁ εἰπών·

[1] μέγιστον Elmsley: μεγίστης.
[2] ἔλαττον Reiske and one MS.: ἐλάττονα.

[a] From the *Dictys* of Euripides; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 332.

How many reft of children face old age,
And others still who from a prosperous reign
Sink down to nothing. This you ought to heed.[a]

For he bids her to think of the lot of those who are equally unfortunate or even more unfortunate than herself, with the idea that her grief will be lightened.

9. In this connexion might be adduced the utterance of Socrates[b] which suggests that if we were all to bring our misfortunes into a common store, so that each person should receive an equal share in the distribution, the majority would be glad to take up their own and depart.

The poet Antimachus, also, employed a similar method. For after the death of his wife, Lyde, whom he loved very dearly, he composed, as a consolation for his grief, the elegy called *Lyde*, in which he enumerated the misfortunes of the heroes, and thus made his own grief less by means of others' ills. So it is clear that he who tries to console a person in grief, and demonstrates that the calamity is one which is common to many, and less than the calamities which have befallen others, changes the opinion of the one in grief and gives him a similar conviction—that his calamity is really less than he supposed it to be.

10 Aeschylus[c] seems admirably to rebuke those who think that death is an evil. He says:

Men are not right in hating Death, which is
The greatest succour from our many ills.

In imitation of Aeschylus some one else has said:

[b] Not original with Socrates, *cf.* Herodotus, vii. 152; attributed to Solon by Valerius Maximus, vii. 2, ext. 2.

[c] From an unknown play; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Aeschylus, No. 353.

D ὦ θάνατε, παιὰν ἰατρὸς μόλοις.[a]
(106) "λιμὴν" γὰρ ὄντως "Ἀίδας ἀνιᾶν.[1]"

μέγα γάρ ἐστι τὸ μετὰ πείσματος τεθαρρηκότος εἰπεῖν

τίς δ' ἐστὶ δοῦλος τοῦ θανεῖν ἄφροντις ὤν;

καὶ

Ἅιδην δ' ἔχων βοηθὸν οὐ τρέμω σκιάς.[b]

τί γὰρ τὸ χαλεπόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ δυσανιῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ τεθνάναι; τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θανάτου μήποτε καὶ λίαν ἡμῖν ὄντα συνήθη καὶ συμφυῆ πάλιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως δυσαλγῆ δοκεῖ εἶναι. τί γὰρ θαυμαστὸν εἰ τὸ τμητὸν τέτμηται, εἰ τὸ τηκτὸν τέτηκται, εἰ τὸ καυστὸν E κέκαυται, εἰ τὸ φθαρτὸν ἔφθαρται; πότε γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θάνατος; καί, ᾗ φησιν Ἡράκλειτος, "ταὐτό[2] γ' ἔνι ζῶν καὶ τεθνηκὸς καὶ τὸ ἐγρηγορὸς καὶ τὸ καθεῦδον καὶ νέον καὶ γηραιόν· τάδε γὰρ μεταπεσόντα ἐκεῖνά ἐστι, κἀκεῖνα πάλιν μεταπεσόντα ταῦτα." ὡς γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πηλοῦ δύναταί τις πλάττων ζῷα συγχεῖν καὶ πάλιν πλάττειν καὶ συγχεῖν καὶ τοῦθ' ἓν παρ' ἓν ποιεῖν ἀδιαλείπτως, οὕτω καὶ ἡ φύσις ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης F πάλαι μὲν τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἀνέσχεν, εἶτα συνεχεῖς αὐτοῖς[3] ἐγέννησε τοὺς πατέρας, εἶθ' ἡμᾶς,

[1] ἀνιᾶν Meziriacus: ἀν' αἶαν. [2] ταὐτῷ Bernays.
[3] συνεχεῖς αὐτοῖς] συγχέασ' αὐτοὺς Sauppe.

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[a] Somewhat similar to a line from the *Philoctetes* of Aeschylus; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Aeschylus, No. 255.

[b] Author unknown; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, No. 369.

O Death, healing physician, come.[a]

For it is indeed true that

A harbour from all distress is Hades.[b]

For it is a magnificent thing to be able to say with undaunted conviction:

What man who recks not death can be a slave?[c]

and

With Hades' help shadows I do not fear.[d]

For what is there cruel or so very distressing in being dead? It may be that the phenomenon of death, from being too familiar and natural to us, seems somehow, under changed circumstances, to be painful, though I know not why. For what wonder if the separable be separated, if the soluble be dissolved, if the combustible be consumed, and the corruptible be corrupted? For at what time is death not existent in our very selves? As Heracleitus[e] says: "Living and dead are potentially the same thing, and so too waking and sleeping, and young and old; for the latter revert to the former, and the former in turn to the latter." For as one is able from the same clay to model figures of living things and to obliterate them, and again to model and obliterate, and alternately to repeat these operations without ceasing, so Nature, using the same material, a long time ago raised up our forefathers, and then in close succession to them created our fathers, and then ourselves, and

[c] From an unknown play of Euripides; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 958, and Plutarch, *Moralia*, 34 B.

[d] Author unknown; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, No. 370.

[e] *Cf.* Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 95, No. 88.

εἶτ' ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἀνακυκλήσει. καὶ ὁ τῆς γενέσεως ποταμὸς οὕτως ἐνδελεχῶς ῥέων οὔποτε στήσεται, καὶ πάλιν ὁ ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτῷ ὁ τῆς φθορᾶς εἴτ' Ἀχέρων εἴτε Κωκυτὸς καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν. ἡ πρώτη οὖν αἰτία ἡ δείξασα ἡμῖν τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς, ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ τὸν ζοφερὸν Ἅιδην ἄγει. καὶ μήποτε τοῦδ' εἰκὼν ᾖ ὁ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀήρ, ἓν παρ' ἓν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ποιῶν, ἐπαγωγοὺς[1] *ζωῆς τε καὶ θανάτου καὶ ὕπνου καὶ ἐγρηγόρσεως; διὸ καὶ μοιρίδιον χρέος εἶναι λέγεται τὸ ζῆν, ὡς ἀποδοθησόμενον ὃ ἐδανείσαντο*
107 *ἡμῶν οἱ προπάτορες. ὃ δὴ καὶ εὐκόλως καταβλητέον καὶ ἀστενάκτως, ὅταν ὁ δανείσας ἀπαιτῇ· εὐγνωμονέστατοι γὰρ ἂν οὕτω φανείημεν.*

11. *Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὁρῶσαν τό τ' ἄτακτον καὶ βραχυχρόνιον τοῦ βίου ἄδηλον ποιῆσαι τὴν τοῦ θανάτου προθεσμίαν. τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἄμεινον· εἰ γὰρ προῄδειμεν, κἂν προεξετήκοντό τινες ταῖς λύπαις καὶ πρὶν ἀποθανεῖν ἐτεθνήκεσαν. ὅρα δὲ καὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ ὀδυνηρὸν καὶ τὸ πολλαῖς φροντίσιν ἐπηντλημένον, ἃς εἰ βουλοίμεθα καταριθμεῖσθαι, λίαν ἂν αὐτοῦ καταγνοίημεν, ἐπαληθεύσαιμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν παρ' ἐνίοις κρατοῦσαν δόξαν ὡς ἄρα κρεῖττόν ἐστι τὸ τεθνάναι τοῦ ζῆν. ὁ γοῦν Σιμωνίδης,*

B *"ἀνθρώπων," φησίν, "ὀλίγον μὲν κάρτος, ἄπρακτοι δὲ μεληδόνες,*
αἰῶνι δὲ παύρῳ πόνος ἀμφὶ πόνῳ.

[1] *ἐπαγωγοὺς* Emperius: *ἐπαγωγὰς*.

[a] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii., Simonides, No. 39.

later will create others and still others in a never-ending cycle; and the stream of generation, thus flowing onward perpetually, will never stop, and so likewise its counterpart, flowing in the opposite direction—which is the stream of destruction, whether it be designated by the poets as Acheron or as Cocytus. The same agency which at the first showed us the light of the sun brings also the darkness of Hades. May not the air surrounding us serve to symbolize this, causing as it does day and night alternately, which bring us life and death, and sleep and waking? Wherefore it is said that life is a debt to destiny, the idea being that the loan which our forefathers contracted is to be repaid by us. This debt we ought to discharge cheerfully and without bemoaning whenever the lender asks for payment; for in this way we should show ourselves to be most honourable men.

11. I imagine also that it was because Nature saw the indefiniteness and the brevity of life that she caused the time allowed us before death to be kept from us. And it is better so; for if we knew this beforehand, some persons would be utterly wasted by griefs before their time, and would be dead long before they died. Observe too the painfulness of life, and the exhaustion caused by many cares; if we should wish to enumerate all these, we should too readily condemn life, and we should confirm the opinion which now prevails in the minds of some that it is better to be dead than to live. Simonides[a] at any rate says:

> Petty indeed is men's strength;
> All their strivings are vain;
> Toil upon toil in a life of no length.

(107) ὁ δ' ἄφυκτος ὁμῶς ἐπικρέμαται θάνατος·
κείνου γὰρ ἴσον λάχον μέρος οἵ τ' ἀγαθοί
ὅστις τε κακός."

Πίνδαρος δέ·

ἓν παρ' ἐσθλὸν σύνδυο πήματα δαίονται[1] βροτοῖς
ἀθάνατοι. τὰ μὲν ὦν οὐ δύνανται νήπιοι κόσμῳ
φέρειν.

Σοφοκλῆς δέ·

σὺ δ' ἄνδρα θνητὸν εἰ κατέφθιτο στένεις,
εἰδὼς τὸ μέλλον οὐδὲν εἰ κέρδος φέρει;

Εὐριπίδης δέ·

τὰ θνητὰ πράγματ' οἶσθά γ'[2] ἣν ἔχει φύσιν;
C δοκῶ[3] μὲν οὔ· πόθεν γάρ; ἀλλ' ἄκουέ μου.
βροτοῖς ἅπασι κατθανεῖν ὀφείλεται,
κοὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν[4] ὅστις ἐξεπίσταται
τὴν αὔριον μέλλουσαν εἰ βιώσεται.
τὸ τῆς τύχης γὰρ ἀφανὲς οἶ προβήσεται.

τοιούτου δὴ τοῦ βίου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντος οἷον οὗτοί φασι, πῶς οὐκ εὐδαιμονίζειν μᾶλλον προσήκει τοὺς ἀπολυθέντας τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ λατρείας ἢ κατοικτίρειν τε καὶ θρηνεῖν, ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ δρῶσι δι' ἀμαθίαν;

D 12. Ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης παραπλήσιον ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὸν θάνατον ἤτοι τῷ βαθυτάτῳ ὕπνῳ ἢ ἀποδημίᾳ μακρᾷ καὶ πολυχρονίῳ ἢ τρίτον φθορᾷ τινι καὶ ἀφανισμῷ τοῦ τε σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, κατ' οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων κακὸν εἶναι. καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεπορεύετο, καὶ πρῶτον τῷ πρώτῳ. εἰ γὰρ δὴ

[1] δαίονται Pindar MSS.: δαίνυνται.
[2] οἶσθά γ' Cod. Pal.: οἶδας in all other MSS.

Death hovers over them all,
Death which is foreordained.
Equal the share by the brave is attained
In death with the base.

And Pindar [a] says :

A pair of miseries with each good
The deathless gods mete out to mortal man.
The foolish cannot bear them as they should.

And Sophocles [b] says :

Mourn you a mortal if he's passed away,
Not knowing if the future brings him gain ?

And Euripides [c] says :

Know you the nature of this mortal world ?
I wot not. For whence could you ? But hear me.
By all mankind is owed a debt to death,
And not a single man can be assured
If he shall live throughout the coming day.
For Fortune's movements are inscrutable.

Since, then, the life of men is such as these poets say it is, surely it is more fitting to felicitate those who have been released from their servitude in it than to pity them and bewail them, as the majority do through ignorance.

12. Socrates [d] said that death resembles either a very deep sleep or a long and distant journey, or, thirdly, a sort of destruction and extinction of both the body and the soul, but that by no one of these possibilities is it an evil. Each of these conceptions he pursued further, and the first one first. For if

[a] *Pyth.* iii. 82 ; *cf.* Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 527, quoted *supra*, 105 c.
[b] From an unknown play ; *cf.* Nauck, *T.G.F.*, Sophocles, No. 761. [c] *Alcestis*, 780. [d] Plato, *Apology*, p. 40 c.

[3] δοκῶ] οἶμαι Euripides MSS.
[4] ἔστιν αὐτῶν] ἔστι θνητῶν Euripides MSS.

(107) ὕπνος τίς ἐστιν ὁ θάνατος καὶ περὶ τοὺς καθεύδοντας μηδέν ἐστι κακόν, δῆλον ὡς οὐδὲ περὶ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εἴη ἄν τι κακόν. ἀλλὰ μήν γ' ὅτι ἥδιστός ἐστιν ὁ βαθύτατος τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα φανερόν ἐστι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λέγων·

νήγρετος ἥδιστος, θανάτῳ ἄγχιστα ἐοικώς.

E ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα λέγει·

ἔνθ' Ὕπνῳ ξύμβλητο, κασιγνήτῳ Θανάτοιο

καί·

Ὕπνῳ καὶ Θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν,

ὄψει τὴν ὁμοιότητα αὐτῶν δηλῶν· τὰ γὰρ δίδυμα τὴν ὁμοιότητα μάλιστα παρεμφαίνει. πάλιν τέ πού φησι τὸν θάνατον εἶναι "χάλκεον ὕπνον," τὴν ἀναισθησίαν ἡμῶν αἰνιττόμενος. οὐκ ἀμούσως δ' ἔδοξεν ἀποφήνασθαι οὐδ' ὁ εἰπὼν "τὸν ὕπνον τὰ μικρὰ τοῦ θανάτου μυστήρια"· προμύησις γὰρ ὄντως ἐστὶ τοῦ θανάτου ὁ ὕπνος. πάνυ δὲ σοφῶς καὶ ὁ κυνικὸς Διογένης κατενεχθεὶς εἰς ὕπνον καὶ
F μέλλων ἐκλείπειν τὸν βίον, διεγείραντος αὐτὸν τοῦ ἰατροῦ καὶ πυθομένου μή τι περὶ αὐτὸν εἴη χαλεπόν, "οὐδέν," ἔφη· "ὁ γὰρ ἀδελφὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν προλαμβάνει.[1]"

13. Εἴ γε μὴν ἀποδημίᾳ προσέοικεν ὁ θάνατος,

[1] προλαμβάνει Doehner: προλαμβάνει ὁ ὕπνος τὸν θάνατον.

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[a] *Od.* xiii. 80.
[b] *Il.* xiv. 231.
[c] *Il.* xvi. 672, 682.
[d] *Il.* xi. 241.
[e] Mnesimachus. *Cf.* Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* ii. p. 422, Mnesimachus, No. 11. Initiation into the lesser mysteries

death is a sleep, and there is nothing evil in the state of those who sleep, it is evident that there is likewise nothing evil in the state of those who are dead. Nay, what need is there even to state that the deepest sleep is indeed the sweetest? For the fact is of itself patent to all men, and Homer[a] bears witness by saying regarding it:

> Slumber the deepest and sweetest, and nearest to death in its semblance.

In another place[b] also he says:

> Here she chanced to encounter the brother of Death, which is Slumber,

and

> Slumber and Death, the twin brothers,[c]

thereby indicating their similarity in appearance, for twins show most similarity. And again somewhere[d] he says that death is a "brazen sleep," in allusion to our insensibility in it. And not inelegantly did the man[e] seem to put the case who called "sleep the Lesser Mysteries of death"; for sleep is really a preparatory rite for death. Very wise was the remark of the cynic Diogenes, who, when he had sunk into slumber and was about to depart this life, was roused by his physician, who inquired if anything distressed him. "Nothing," he said, "for the one brother merely forestalls the other."[f]

13. If death indeed resembles a journey, even so

(celebrated at Agrae, near Athens, in March) was required before one could be admitted to the great Eleusinian festival in September.

[f] *Cf.* a similar remark attributed to Gorgias of Leontini in Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ii. 35.

οὐδ' οὕτως ἐστὶ κακόν· μήποτε δὲ καὶ τοὐναντίον ἀγαθόν. τὸ γὰρ ἀδούλωτον τῇ[1] σαρκὶ καὶ τοῖς ταύτης πάθεσι διάγειν, ὑφ' ὧν κατασπώμενος ὁ νοῦς τῆς θνητῆς ἀναπίμπλαται φλυαρίας, εὔδαιμόν τι
108 καὶ μακάριον. "μυρίας μὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν," φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων, "ἀσχολίας παρέχει τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφήν· ἔτι δ' ἐάν τινες νόσοι προσπέσωσιν, ἐμποδίζουσιν ἡμῖν τὴν τοῦ ὄντος θήραν, ἐρώτων δὲ καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ φόβων καὶ εἰδώλων παντοδαπῶν καὶ φλυαρίας ἐμπίπλησιν ἡμᾶς, ὥστε τὸ λεγόμενον ὡς ἀληθῶς τῷ ὄντι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ φρονῆσαι ἡμῖν ἐγγίγνεται οὐδέποτ' οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ πολέμους καὶ στάσεις καὶ μάχας οὐδὲν ἄλλο παρέχει ἢ τὸ σῶμα καὶ αἱ[2] τούτου ἐπιθυμίαι· διὰ γὰρ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων κτῆσιν πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι
B γίγνονται· τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀναγκαζόμεθα κτᾶσθαι διὰ τὸ σῶμα, δουλεύοντες τῇ τούτου θεραπείᾳ· καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἀσχολίαν ἄγομεν φιλοσοφίας πέρι διὰ ταῦτα πάντα. τὸ δ' ἔσχατον πάντων, ὅτι ἐάν τις ἡμῖν καὶ σχολὴ γένηται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τραπώμεθα πρὸς τὸ σκοπεῖν τι, ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσι πανταχοῦ παραπῖπτον θόρυβον παρέχει καὶ ταραχὴν καὶ ἐκπλήττει, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθορᾶν τἀληθές. ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι ἡμῖν δέδεικται ὅτι εἰ μέλλομέν ποτε καθαρῶς τι εἴσεσθαι, ἀπαλλακτέον αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ θεατέον αὐτὰ τὰ πράγ-
C ματα· καὶ τότε, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡμῖν ἔσται οὗ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν καὶ οὗ φαμεν ἐρᾶν (ἔστι δὲ φρόνησις), ἐπειδὰν τελευτήσωμεν, ὡς ὁ λόγος σημαίνει, ζῶσι

[1] τὸ γὰρ ἀδούλωτον τῇ Duebner: τοῦτο γὰρ δεδούλωται.

[2] αἱ Plato MSS.: αἱ ἀπὸ. There are other minor variations from the MSS. of Plato, but none which affects the meaning of the quotation.

it is not an evil. On the contrary, it may even be a good. For to pass one's time unenslaved by the flesh and its emotions, by which the mind is distracted and tainted with human folly, would be a blessed piece of good fortune. "For the body," says Plato,[a] "in countless ways leaves us no leisure because of its necessary care and feeding. Moreover, if any diseases invade it, they hinder our pursuit of reality, and it fills us with lusts and desires and fears and all manner of fancies and folly, so that, as the saying goes, because of it we really have no opportunity to think seriously of anything. It is a fact that wars and strifes and battles are brought about by nothing else except the body and its desires; for all wars are waged for the acquisition of property, and property we are forced to acquire because of the body, since we are slaves in its service; and the result is that, because of these things, we have no leisure for study. And the worst of all is, that even if we do gain some leisure from the demands of the body, and turn to the consideration of some subject, yet at every point in our investigation the body forces itself in, and causes tumult and confusion, and disconcerts us, so that on account of it we are unable to discern the truth. Nay, the fact has been thoroughly demonstrated to us that, if we are ever going to have any pure knowledge, we must divest ourselves of the body, and with the soul itself observe the realities. And, as it appears, we shall possess what we desire and what we profess to long for—and that is wisdom—only, as our reasoning shows, after we are dead, but not

[a] *Phaedo*, p. 66 B.

(108) δ' οὔ. εἰ γὰρ μὴ οἷόν τε μετὰ τοῦ σώματος μηδὲν καθαρῶς γνῶναι, δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ οὐδαμοῦ ἔστι κτήσασθαι τὸ εἰδέναι ἢ τελευτήσασι· τότε γὰρ αὐτὴ καθ' αὑτὴν ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος, πρότερον δ' οὔ. καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἂν ζῶμεν, οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐγγυτάτω ἐσόμεθα τοῦ εἰδέναι, ἐὰν ὅτι μάλιστα μηδὲν ὁμιλῶμεν τῷ σώματι μηδὲ κοινωνῶμεν, ὅτι μὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, μηδὲ ἀναπιμπλώμεθα τῆς τούτου φύσεως, ἀλλὰ καθαρεύωμεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, D ἕως ἂν ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἀπολύσῃ ἡμᾶς. καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἀπαλλαττόμενοι[1] τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀφροσύνης, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, μετὰ τοιούτων ἐσόμεθα, δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πᾶν τὸ εἰλικρινὲς ὁρῶντες· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀληθές. μὴ καθαρῷ γὰρ καθαροῦ ἐφάπτεσθαι μὴ οὐ θεμιτὸν ᾖ."

Ὥστ' εἰ καὶ προσέοικε μετάγειν εἰς ἕτερον τόπον ὁ θάνατος, οὐκ ἔστι κακόν· μήποτε γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀναφαίνηται, καθάπερ ἀπέδειξεν ὁ Πλάτων. διὸ καὶ πάνυ δαιμονίως ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸς E τοὺς δικαστὰς τοιαῦτ' ἔφη· "τὸ γὰρ δεδιέναι, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὸν θάνατον οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι μὴ ὄντα· δοκεῖν γὰρ εἰδέναι ἐστὶν ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν. οἶδε μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς τὸν θάνατον οὐδ' εἰ τυγχάνει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ μέγιστον πάντων ὂν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, δεδίασι δ' ὡς εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν ἐστιν." οὐκ ἀπᾴδειν δ' ἔοικε τούτων οὐδ' ὁ εἰπών·

[1] καθαροὶ ἀπαλλαττόμενοι Plato MSS.

while we are alive. For if it is impossible in company with the body to have any pure knowledge, then one of two things is true: either it is not possible to attain knowledge anywhere, or else only after death. For then the soul will be quite by itself, separate from the body, but before that time never. And so, while we live, we shall, as it appears, be nearest to knowledge if, as far as possible, we have no association or communion with the body, except such as absolute necessity requires, and if we do not taint ourselves with its nature, but keep ourselves pure of it until such time as God himself shall release us. And thus, being rid of the irrationality of the body, we shall, in all likelihood, be in the company of others in like state, and we shall behold with our own eyes the pure and absolute, which is the truth; since for the impure to touch the pure may well be against the divine ordinance."

So, even if it be likely that death transports us into another place, it is not an evil; for it may possibly prove to be a good, as Plato has shown. Wherefore very wonderful were the words which Socrates [a] uttered before his judges, to this effect: "To be afraid of death, Sirs, is nothing else than to seem to be wise when one is not; for it is to seem to know what one does not know. For in regard to death nobody knows even whether it happens to be for mankind the greatest of all good things, yet they fear it as if they knew well that it is the greatest of evils." From this view it seems that the poet does not dissent who says:

[a] Plato, *Apology*, p. 29 A.

μηδεὶς φοβείσθω θάνατον ἀπόλυσιν πόνων,

ἀλλὰ καὶ κακῶν τῶν μεγίστων.

14. Λέγεται δὲ τούτοις μαρτυρεῖν καὶ τὸ θεῖον. πολλοὺς γὰρ παρειλήφαμεν δι' εὐσέβειαν παρὰ θεῶν ταύτης τυχόντας τῆς δωρεᾶς. ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους φειδόμενος τῆς συμμετρίας τοῦ συγγράμματος παραλείψω· μνησθήσομαι δὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐμφανεστάτων καὶ πᾶσι διὰ στόματος.

F Πρῶτα δή σοι τὰ περὶ Κλέοβιν καὶ Βίτωνα τοὺς Ἀργείους νεανίσκους διηγήσομαι. φασὶ γὰρ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν ἱερείας οὔσης τῆς Ἥρας ἐπειδὴ τῆς εἰς τὸν νεὼν ἀναβάσεως ἧκεν ὁ καιρός, τῶν ἑλκόντων τὴν ἀπήνην ὀρέων ὑστερησάντων καὶ τῆς ὥρας ἐπειγούσης, τούτους ὑποδύντας ὑπὸ τὴν ἀπήνην ἀγαγεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὴν μητέρα, τὴν δ' ὑπερησθεῖσαν τῇ τῶν υἱῶν εὐσεβείᾳ κατεύξασθαι τὸ κράτιστον αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ δοθῆναι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τοὺς δὲ κατακοιμηθέντας μηκέτ' ἀναστῆναι, τῆς θεοῦ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῖς τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀμοιβὴν δωρησαμένης.

109 Καὶ περὶ Ἀγαμήδους δὲ καὶ Τροφωνίου φησὶ Πίνδαρος τὸν νεὼν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς οἰκοδομήσαντας αἰτεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μισθόν, τὸν δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγείλασθαι εἰς ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν ἀποδώσειν, ἐν τοσούτῳ δ' εὐωχεῖσθαι παρακελεύσασθαι· τοὺς δὲ ποιήσαντας τὸ προσταχθὲν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ νυκτὶ κατακοιμηθέντας τελευτῆσαι.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ Πινδάρῳ ἐπισκήψαντι

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[a] Author unknown; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, No. 371.

Let none fear death, which is release from toils,[a]

—ay, and from the greatest of evils as well.

14. It is said that the Deity also bears witness to this. For tradition tells us that many for their righteousness have gained this gift from the gods. Most of these I shall pass over, having regard to due proportion in my composition; but I shall mention the most conspicuous, whose story is on the lips of all men.

First I shall relate for you the tale of Cleobis and Biton, the Argive youths.[b] They say that their mother was priestess of Hera, and when the time had come for her to go up to the temple, and the mules that always drew her wagon were late in arriving, and the hour was pressing, these young men put themselves to the wagon and drew their mother to the temple; and she, overjoyed at the devotion of her sons, prayed that the best boon that man can receive be given them by the goddess. They then lay down to sleep and never arose again, the goddess granting them death as a reward for their devotion.

Of Agamedes and Trophonius, Pindar[c] says that after building the temple at Delphi they asked Apollo for a reward, and he promised them to make payment on the seventh day, bidding them in the meantime to eat, drink, and be merry. They did what was commanded, and on the evening of the seventh day lay down to sleep and their life came to an end.

It is said that Pindar himself enjoined upon the

[b] *Cf.* Herodotus, i. 31, and Plutarch, *Moralia*, Frag. in vol. vii. p. 126 Bernardakis.

[c] *Cf. Frag.* 2 of Pindar (ed. Christ).

(109) τοῖς παρὰ τῶν Βοιωτῶν πεμφθεῖσιν εἰς θεοῦ B πυθέσθαι "τί ἄριστόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις" ἀποκρίνασθαι τὴν πρόμαντιν ὅτι οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀγνοεῖ, εἴ γε τὰ γραφέντα περὶ Τροφωνίου καὶ Ἀγαμήδους ἐκείνου ἐστίν· εἰ δὲ καὶ πειραθῆναι βούλεται, μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἔσεσθαι αὐτῷ πρόδηλον. καὶ οὕτω πυθόμενον τὸν Πίνδαρον συλλογίζεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον, διελθόντος δ' ὀλίγου χρόνου τελευτῆσαι.

Τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰταλὸν Εὐθύνοον τοιαῦτά φασι γενέσθαι. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν Ἠλυσίου πατρὸς τοῦ Τεριναίου, τῶν ἐκεῖ πρώτου καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δόξῃ, τελευτῆσαι δ' ἐξαπίνης αἰτίᾳ τινὶ ἀδήλῳ. τὸν οὖν Ἠλύσιον εἰσελθεῖν ὅπερ ἴσως κἂν ἄλλον εἰσῆλθε, μήποτ' εἴη φαρμάκοις ἀπολω- C λώς· τοῦτον γὰρ εἶναι μόνον αὐτῷ ἐπ' οὐσίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ χρήμασιν. ἀποροῦντα δ' ὅτῳ τρόπῳ βάσανον λάβοι τούτων, ἀφικέσθαι ἐπί τι ψυχομαντεῖον, προθυσάμενον δ' ὡς νόμος ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι καὶ ἰδεῖν ὄψιν τοιάνδε. δόξαι παραγενέσθαι τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ· ἰδόντα δὲ διεξέρχεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τῆς τύχης τῆς κατὰ τὸν υἱόν, καὶ ἀντιβολεῖν τε καὶ δεῖσθαι συνεξευρεῖν τὸν αἴτιον τοῦ θανάτου. καὶ τὸν "ἐπὶ τούτῳ," φάναι, "ἥκω. ἀλλὰ δέξαι παρὰ τοῦδ' ἅ σοι φέρει, ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἅπαντ' εἴσῃ ὧν πέρι λυπῇ." εἶναι δ' ὃν ἐσήμηνε νεανίσκον D ἑπόμενον αὐτῷ, ἐμφερῆ τε τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τὰ τοῦ χρόνου τε καὶ τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐγγύς. ἐρέσθαι οὖν

[a] The story comes from Crantor's *Consolatio*, according to Cicero.

deputies of the Boeotians who were sent to consult the god that they should inquire, "What is the best thing for mankind?" and the prophetic priestess made answer, that he himself could not be ignorant of it if the story which had been written about Trophonius and Agamedes were his; but if he desired to learn it by experience, it should be made manifest to him within a short time. As a result of this inquiry Pindar inferred that he should expect death, and after a short time his end came.

They say that the following incident happened to the Italian Euthynoüs.[a] He was the son of Elysius, of Terina, a man foremost among the people there in virtue, wealth, and repute, and Euthynoüs came to his end suddenly from some unknown cause. Now it occurred to Elysius, as it might have occurred to anybody else, that his son had perhaps died of poisoning; for he was his only heir to a large property and estate. Being in perplexity as to how he might put his suspicions to the test, he visited a place where the spirits of the dead are conjured up, and having offered the preliminary sacrifice prescribed by custom, he lay down to sleep in the place, and had this vision. It seemed that his own father came to him, and that on seeing his father he related to him what had happened touching his son, and begged and besought his help to discover the man who was responsible for his son's death. And his father said, "It is for this that I am come. Take from this person here what he brings for you, and from this you will learn about everything over which you are now grieving." The person whom he indicated was a young man who followed him, resembling his son Euthynoüs and close to him in years and stature.

(109) ὅστις εἴη. καὶ τὸν φάναι "δαίμων τοῦ υἱέος σου," καὶ οὕτω δὴ ὀρέξαι οἱ γραμματείδιον. ἀνειλήσαντα οὖν αὐτὸ ἰδεῖν ἐγγεγραμμένα τρία ταῦτα·

ἦ που[1] νηπιέῃσιν ἀλύουσιν[2] φρένες ἀνδρῶν.
Εὐθύνοος κεῖται μοιριδίῳ θανάτῳ.
οὐκ ἦν γάρ[3] ζώειν καλὸν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ[4] γονεῦσι.

Τοιαῦτα δή σοι καὶ τὰ τῶν διηγημάτων τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀναγεγραμμένων.

E 15. Εἴ γε μὴν ὁ θάνατος τελεία τίς ἐστι φθορὰ καὶ διάλυσις τοῦ τε σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς (τὸ τρίτον γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο τῆς Σωκρατικῆς εἰκασίας), οὐδ' οὕτω κακόν ἐστιν· ἀναισθησία γάρ τις κατ' αὐτὸν γίγνεται καὶ πάσης ἀπαλλαγὴ λύπης καὶ φροντίδος. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὔτ' ἀγαθὸν ἡμῖν ἔπεστιν οὕτως οὐδὲ κακόν· περὶ γὰρ τὸ ὂν καὶ τὸ ὑφεστηκὸς καθάπερ τὸ ἀγαθὸν πέφυκε γίγνεσθαι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ κακόν· περὶ δὲ τὸ μὴ ὂν ἀλλ' ἠρμένον ἐκ τῶν ὄντων οὐδέτερον τούτων ὑπάρχει. εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν οὖν τάξιν οἱ τελευτήσαντες καθ-
F ίστανται τῇ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως. ὥσπερ οὖν οὐδὲν ἦν ἡμῖν πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως οὔτ' ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακόν, οὕτως οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. καὶ καθάπερ τὰ πρὸ ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὰ μεθ' ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ἔσται πρὸς ἡμᾶς·

[1] ἦ που Iunius: ἤρου.
[2] νηπιέῃσιν ἀλύουσιν Hercher from Cicero: νήπιε ἠλύσιε. Perhaps ἦ που νήπιαι, 'Ηλύσι' ἠλιθίων φρένες ἀνδρῶν, partly suggested by Wyttenbach, would better account for the present ms. reading (Wilamowitz, 'Ηλύσιε <ζώντων>).
[3] οὐκ ἦν γὰρ] οὐ γὰρ ἔην Hercher.
[4] οὐδὲ Turnebus: οὔτε.

So Elysius asked who he was; and he said, "I am the ghost of your son," and with these words he handed him a paper. This Elysius opened and saw written there these three lines:

> Verily somehow the minds of men in ignorance wander;
> Dead now Euthynoüs lies; destiny so has decreed.
> Not for himself was it good that he live, nor yet for his parents.[a]

Such, you observe, is the purport of the tales recorded in ancient writers.

15. If, however, death is really a complete destruction and dissolution of both body and soul (for this was the third of Socrates' conjectures), even so it is not an evil. For, according to him, there ensues a sort of insensibility and a liberation from all pain and anxiety. For just as no good can attach to us in such a state, so also can no evil; for just as the good, from its nature, can exist only in the case of that which is and has substantiality, so it is also with the evil. But in the case of that which is not, but has been removed from the sphere of being, neither of them can have any real existence. Now those who have died return to the same state in which they were before birth; therefore, as nothing was either good or evil for us before birth, even so will it be with us after death. And just as all events before our lifetime were nothing to us, even so will all events subsequent to our lifetime be nothing to us. For in reality

[a] Mullach, *Frag. Philos. Graec.* iii. p. 148: *cf.* Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, i. 48 (115).

"ἄλγος" γὰρ ὄντως "οὐδὲν ἅπτεται νεκροῦ."
"τὸ" γὰρ "μὴ γενέσθαι τῷ θανεῖν ἴσον λέγω."

ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ κατάστασίς ἐστι τῇ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἡ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. ἀλλ' οἴει σὺ διαφορὰν εἶναι μὴ γενέσθαι[1] ἢ γενόμενον ἀπογενέσθαι; εἰ μὴ καὶ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἡμῶν μετὰ τὴν φθορὰν ὑπολαμβάνεις τινὰ διαφορὰν εἶναι πρὸς τὸν ὃν
110 οὐδέπω κατεσκευάσθη χρόνον. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔστι, δῆλον ὡς οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῦ θανάτου πρὸς τὴν πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως κατάστασιν ἔστι διαφορά. χάριεν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀρκεσιλάου. "τοῦτο," φησί, "τὸ λεγόμενον κακὸν ὁ θάνατος μόνον τῶν ἄλλων τῶν νενομισμένων κακῶν παρὸν μὲν οὐδένα πώποτ' ἐλύπησεν, ἀπὸν δὲ καὶ προσδοκώμενον λυπεῖ." τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πολλοὶ διὰ τὴν οὐδένειαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θάνατον διαβολὴν ἀποθνῄσκουσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνωσι. καλῶς οὖν ὁ Ἐπίχαρμος

"συνεκρίθη" φησί "καὶ διεκρίθη καὶ ἀπῆνθεν ὅθεν ἦνθε,[2]"

B πάλιν

γᾶ μὲν εἰς γᾶν, πνεῦμ' ἄνω.[3] τί τῶνδε χαλεπόν; οὐδέν.[4]

ὁ Κρεσφόντης δέ που ὁ παρὰ τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγων

"εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἰκεῖ," φησί, "νερτέρας ὑπὸ χθονός ἐν τοῖσιν οὐκέτ' οὖσιν, οὐδὲν ἂν σθένοι."

[1] μὴ γενέσθαι Wyttenbach: ἢ μὴ γενέσθαι.
[2] ἀπῆνθεν . . . ἦνθε Scaliger: ἀπῆλθεν . . . ἦλθε.
[3] πνεῦμ' ἄνω Mullach: πνεῦμα δ' ἄνω.
[4] οὐδέν Hartman: οὐδὲ ἕν.

[a] From the *Philoctetes* of Aeschylus; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Aeschylus, No. 255.

No suffering affects the dead,[a]

since

Not to be born I count the same as death.[b]

For the condition after the end of life is the same as that before birth. But do you imagine that there is a difference between not being born at all, and being born and then passing away? Surely not, unless you assume also that there is a difference in a house or a garment of ours after its destruction, as compared with the time when it had not yet been fashioned. But if there is no difference in these cases, it is evident that there is no difference in the case of death, either, as compared with the condition before birth. Arcesilaus puts the matter neatly: "This that we call an evil, death, is the only one of the supposed evils which, when present, has never caused anybody any pain, but causes pain when it is not present but merely expected." As a matter of fact, many people, because of their utter fatuity and their false opinion regarding death, die in their effort to keep from dying.[c] Excellently does Epicharmus[d] put it:

To be and not to be hath been his fate;

once more

Gone is he whence he came, earth back to earth,
The soul on high. What here is evil? Naught.

Cresphontes in some play of Euripides,[e] speaking of Heracles, says:

For if he dwells beneath the depths of earth
'Mid lifeless shades, his vigour would be naught.

[b] Euripides, *Trojan Women*, 636. [c] *Cf.* 107 A *supra*.
[d] *Cf.* Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 122.
[e] The *Cresphontes*; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 450.

(110) τοῦτο μεταποιήσας εἴποις ἄν·

εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἰκεῖ νερτέρας ὑπὸ χθονός
ἐν τοῖσιν οὐκέτ' οὖσιν, οὐδὲν ἂν πάθοι.

γενναῖον δὲ καὶ τὸ Λακωνικόν

νῦν ἀμές,[1] πρόσθ' ἄλλοι ἐθάλεον,[2] αὐτίκα δ' ἄλλοι,
ὧν ἀμὲς[1] γενεὰν οὐκέτ' ἐποψόμεθα

καὶ πάλιν·

C οἳ θάνον[3] οὐ τὸ ζῆν θέμενοι καλὸν οὐδὲ τὸ θνήσκειν,
ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα καλῶς ἀμφότερ' ἐκτελέσαι.

πάνυ δὲ καλῶς καὶ ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐπὶ τῶν τὰς μακρὰς νοσηλείας ὑπομενόντων φησί·

μισῶ δ' ὅσοι χρῄζουσιν ἐκτείνειν βίον,
βρωτοῖσι καὶ ποτοῖσι καὶ μαγεύμασι[4]
παρεκτρέποντες ὀχετὸν ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν.
οὓς χρῆν, ἐπειδὰν μηδὲν ὠφελῶσι γῆν,[5]
θανόντας ἔρρειν κἀκποδὼν εἶναι νέοις.

D ἡ δὲ Μερόπη λόγους ἀνδρώδεις προφερομένη κινεῖ τὰ θέατρα, λέγουσα τοιαῦτα·

τεθνᾶσι παῖδες οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνῃ βροτῶν,
οὐδ' ἀνδρὸς ἐστερήμεθ', ἀλλὰ μυρίαι
τὸν αὐτὸν ἐξήντλησαν ὡς ἐγὼ βίον.

τούτοις γὰρ οἰκείως ἄν τις ταῦτα συνάψειε·

[1] ἀμές Cobet: ἄμμες.
[2] ἐθάλεον L. Dindorf: ἐθάλλεον.
[3] οἳ θάνον Wyttenbach: οἴδ' ἔθανον.
[4] The reading of the mss. here (supported by Marc. Antoninus, vii. 51) is preferred by nearly all editors of

This you might rewrite and say,

> For if he dwells beneath the depths of earth
> 'Mid lifeless shades, his dolour would be naught.

Noble also is the Spartan song [a]:

> Here now are we; before us others throve, and others still straightway,
> But we shall never live to see their day;

and again:

> Those who have died and who counted no honour the living or dying,
> Only to consummate both nobly were honour for them.[b]

Excellently does Euripides [c] say of those who patiently endure long illnesses:

> I hate the men who would prolong their lives
> By foods and drinks and charms of magic art,
> Perverting nature's course to keep off death;
> They ought, when they no longer serve the land,
> To quit this life, and clear the way for youth.

And Merope [d] stirs the theatres by expressing manly sentiments when she speaks the following words:

> Not mine the only children who have died,
> Nor I the only woman robbed of spouse;
> Others as well as I have drunk life's dregs.

With this the following might be appropriately combined:

[a] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 662.
[b] *Ibid.* iii. p. 516; *cf.* Plutarch, *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. i. (p. 278 A).
[c] *Suppliants*, 1109.
[d] Referred to the *Cresphontes* of Euripides; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 454.

Euripides to that of the Euripidean MSS. *νώτοισι καὶ στρώμναισι καὶ μαντεύμασιν.*
[5] *ὠφελῶσι γῆν*] *ὠφέλουν πόλιν* Euripidean MSS.

(110) ποῦ γὰρ τὰ σεμνὰ κεῖνα, ποῦ δὲ Λυδίας[1]
μέγας δυνάστης Κροῖσος ἢ Ξέρξης βαρὺν[2]
ζεύξας θαλάσσης αὐχέν' Ἑλλησποντίας;
E ἅπαντες Ἅιδην[3] ἦλθον καὶ Λήθης[4] δόμους,

τῶν χρημάτων ἅμα τοῖς σώμασι διαφθαρέντων.

16. Νὴ Δί' ἀλλὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς κινεῖ πρὸς τὰ πένθη καὶ τοὺς θρήνους ὁ ἄωρος θάνατος. ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος οὕτως ἐστὶν εὐπαραμύθητος, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ποιητῶν συνεωρᾶσθαι καὶ τετυχηκέναι παραμυθίας. θέασαι γὰρ οἷα περὶ τούτου φησὶ τῶν κωμικῶν τις πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀώρῳ λυπούμενον θανάτῳ·

εἶτ' εἰ μὲν ᾔδησθ'[5] ὅτιὴ[6] τοῦτον τὸν βίον,
ὃν οὐκ ἐβίωσε, ζῶν διηυτύχησεν ἄν,
ὁ θάνατος οὐκ εὔκαιρος· εἰ δ' ἤνεγκεν αὖ[7]
οὗτος ὁ βίος τι τῶν ἀνηκέστων, ἴσως
ὁ θάνατος[8] αὐτὸς σοῦ γέγονεν εὐνούστερος.

F ἀδήλου οὖν ὄντος πότερον συμφερόντως ἀνεπαύσατο τὸν βίον ἐκλιπὼν καὶ μειζόνων ἀπολυθεὶς κακῶν ἢ οὔ, χρὴ μὴ φέρειν οὕτω βαρέως ὡς ἀπολωλεκότας πάνθ' ὅσων ᾠήθημεν τεύξεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ. οὐ φαύλως γὰρ ἂν δόξειεν ὁ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ Ἀμφιάραος παραμυθεῖσθαι τὴν Ἀρχεμόρου μητέρα δυσχεραίνουσαν ὅτι νήπιος ὢν ὁ παῖς καὶ ἄγαν ἄωρος ἐτελεύτησε. φησὶ γὰρ οὕτως·

ἔφυ μὲν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ πονεῖ βροτῶν.
θάπτει τε τέκνα χἄτερ' αὖ κτᾶται νέα,

[1] Λυδίας: Λυδίης.
[2] βαρύν] βαθύν Wyttenbach. [3] Ἅιδην] Ἅιδαν.
[4] Λήθης] Λάθας. The mixture of dialects in this quotation in the mss. seems inexplicable.

Where now are all those things magnificent—
Great Croesus, lord of Lydia? Xerxes, too,
Who yoked the sullen neck of Hellespont?
Gone all to Hades and Oblivion's house,[a]

and their wealth perished with their bodies.

16. "True," it may be said, "but an untimely death moves most people to mourning and lamentation." Yet, even for this, words of consolation are so readily found that they have been perceived by even uninspired poets, and comfort has been had from them. Observe what one of the comic poets[b] says on this subject to a man who is grieving for an untimely death:

Then if you knew that, had he lived this life,
Which he did not live, Fate had favoured him,
His death was not well timed; but if again
This life had brought some ill incurable,
Then Death perhaps were kindlier than you.

Since, then, it is uncertain whether or not it was profitable for him that he rested from his labours, forsaking this life and released from greater ills, we ought not to bear it so grievously as though we had lost all that we thought we should gain from him. Not ill considered, evidently, is the comfort which Amphiaraus in the poem offers to the mother of Archemorus, who is greatly affected because her son came to his end in his infancy long before his time. For he says:

There is no man that does not suffer ill;
Man buries children, and begets yet more,

[a] Author unknown; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, No. 372, and Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 739.
[b] *Cf.* Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 429, Adespota, No. 116.

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[5] *ᾔδησθ'* Herwerden: *ᾔδεις*. [6] *ὁτιὴ* F.C.B.: *ὅτι* (*ὅττι*).
[7] *αὖ* added by Hercher. [8] *ὁ θάνατος* added by Meziriacus.

αὐτός τε θνήσκει· καὶ τάδ' ἄχθονται βροτοὶ
εἰς γῆν φέροντες γῆν. ἀναγκαίως δ'[1] *ἔχει*
111 *βίον θερίζειν ὥστε κάρπιμον στάχυν,*
καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸν δὲ μή. τί ταῦτα δεῖ
στένειν, ἅπερ δεῖ κατὰ φύσιν διεκπερᾶν;
δεινὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων βροτοῖς.

17. Καθόλου *γὰρ χρὴ διανοεῖσθαι πάντα τινὰ καὶ πρὸς αὑτὸν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον διεξιόντα μετὰ σπουδῆς ὡς οὐχ ὁ μακρότατος βίος ἄριστος ἀλλ' ὁ σπουδαιότατος. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ πλεῖστα κιθαρῳδήσας*
B *ἢ ῥητορεύσας ἢ κυβερνήσας ἀλλ' ὁ καλῶς ἐπαινεῖται. τὸ γὰρ καλὸν οὐκ ἐν μήκει χρόνου θετέον, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ καιρίῳ συμμετρίᾳ· τοῦτο γὰρ εὔδαιμον καὶ θεοφιλὲς εἶναι νενόμισται. διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν τοὺς ὑπεροχωτάτους τῶν ἡρώων καὶ φύντας ἀπὸ θεῶν πρὸ γήρως ἐκλιπόντας τὸν βίον οἱ ποιηταὶ παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν, ὥσπερ κἀκεῖνον*

ὃν περὶ κῆρι φίλει Ζεύς τ' αἰγίοχος καὶ Ἀπόλλων
παντοίην φιλότητ', οὐδ' ἵκετο γήραος οὐδόν.

τὴν γὰρ εὐκαιρίαν μᾶλλον, οὐ τὴν εὐγηρίαν παν-
C *ταχοῦ θεωροῦμεν πρωτεύουσαν. καὶ γὰρ φυτῶν ἄριστα τὰ πλείστας καρπῶν ἐν βραχεῖ φορὰς ποιούμενα, καὶ ζῴων ἐφ' ὧν ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ πολλὴν πρὸς τὸν βίον ὠφέλειαν ἔχομεν. τό τε πολὺ δήπουθεν ἢ μικρὸν οὐδὲν διαφέρειν δοκεῖ*

[1] γῆν. ἀναγκαίως δ' Grotius from Stobaeus, cviii. 11, and Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 25 (59). There are several other variations in the text which do not affect the meaning of the quotation. See Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 596.

[a] From the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 757.
[b] Homer, *Od.* xv. 245.

And dies himself. Men are distressed at this,
Committing earth to earth. But Fate decrees
That life be garnered like the ripened grain,
That one shall live and one shall pass from life.
What need to grieve at this, which Nature says
Must be the constant cycle of all life?
In what must be there's naught that man need dread.[a]

17. In general everyone ought to hold the conviction, if he seriously reviews the facts both by himself and in the company of another, that not the longest life is the best, but the most efficient. For it is not the man who has played the lyre the most, or made the most speeches, or piloted the most ships, who is commended, but he who has done these things excellently. Excellence is not to be ascribed to length of time, but to worth and timely fitness. For these have come to be regarded as tokens of good fortune and of divine favour. It is for this reason, at any rate, that the poets have traditionally represented those of the heroes who were preeminent and sprung from the gods as quitting this life before old age, like him

Who to the heart of great Zeus and Apollo was held to be dearest,
Loved with exceeding great love; but of eld he reached not the threshold.[b]

For we everywhere observe that it is a happy use of opportunity, rather than a happy old age, that wins the highest place.[c] For of trees and plants the best are those that in a brief time produce the most crops of fruit, and the best of animals are those from which in no long time we have the greatest service toward our livelihood. The terms "long" and "short" obviously appear to lose their difference if we fix

[c] *Cf.* Marcus Antoninus, 24. 1, and Seneca, *Epist.* 93. 2.

(111) πρὸς τὸν ἄπειρον ἀφορῶσιν αἰῶνα. τὰ γὰρ χίλια καὶ τὰ μύρια κατὰ Σιμωνίδην ἔτη στιγμή τίς ἐστιν ἀόριστος, μᾶλλον δὲ μόριόν τι βραχύτατον στιγμῆς. ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ζῴων ἐκείνων, ἅπερ ἱστοροῦσι περὶ τὸν Πόντον γιγνόμενα τὴν ζωὴν ἔχειν ἡμερησίαν, ἕωθεν μὲν γεννώμενα, μέσης δ' ἡμέρας ἀκμάζοντα, δείλης δὲ γηρῶντα καὶ τελειοῦντα τὸ ζῆν, οὐχὶ κἀκείνων ἦν ἂν τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς πάθος τοῦτο, εἴπερ ψυχή τις ἀνθρωπίνη καὶ λογισμὸς ἑκάστοις ἐνῆν,
D καὶ ταὐτὰ δήπου γ' ἂν συνέπιπτεν, ὥστε τὰ πρὸ μέσης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκλείποντα θρήνους παρέχειν καὶ δάκρυα, τὰ δὲ διημερεύσαντα πάντως ἂν εὐδαιμονίζεσθαι; μέτρον γὰρ τοῦ βίου τὸ καλόν, οὐ τὸ τοῦ χρόνου μῆκος.

18. Ματαίους γὰρ καὶ πολλῆς εὐηθείας ἡγητέον εἶναι τὰς τοιαύτας ἐκφωνήσεις " ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔδει νέον ὄντα ἀναρπαγῆναι." τίς γὰρ ἂν εἴποι ὡς ἔδει; πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐφ' ὧν ἄν τις εἴποι ὡς " οὐκ ἔδει πραχθῆναι " πέπρακται καὶ πράτ-
E τεται καὶ πραχθήσεται πολλάκις. οὐ γὰρ νομοθετήσοντες πάρεσμεν εἰς τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ πεισόμενοι τοῖς διατεταγμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ὅλα πρυτανευόντων θεῶν καὶ τοῖς τῆς εἱμαρμένης καὶ προνοίας θεσμοῖς.

19. Τί δ'; οἱ πενθοῦντες τοὺς οὕτως ἀποθανόντας ἑαυτῶν ἕνεκα πενθοῦσιν ἢ τῶν κατοιχομένων; εἰ μὲν οὖν ἑαυτῶν, ὅτι τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἡδονῆς ἢ χρείας ἢ γηροβοσκίας ἐστερήθησαν, φίλαυτος ἡ τῆς λύπης πρόφασις· οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνους ποθοῦντες

[a] Aristotle, *Hist. animal.* v. 19. 3 f. (copied by Pliny, *Natural History*, xi. 36 (43)). *Cf.* Aelian, *De nat. animal.* v. 43; Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, i. 39 (94).

our gaze on eternity. For a thousand or ten thousand years, according to Simonides, are but a vague second of time, or rather the smallest fraction of a second. Take the case of those creatures which they relate exist on the shores of the Black Sea,[a] and have an existence of only one day, being born in the morning, reaching the prime of life at mid-day, and toward evening growing old and ending their existence; would there not be in those creatures this same feeling which prevails with us, if each of them had within him a human soul and power to reason, and would not the same relative conditions obviously obtain there, so that those who departed this life before mid-day would cause lamentation and tears, while those who lived through the day would be accounted altogether happy? The measure of life is its excellence, not its length in years.

18. We must regard as vain and foolish such exclamations as these: "But he ought not to have been snatched away while young!" For who may say what ought to be? Many other things, of which one may say "they ought not to have been done," have been done, and are done, and will be done over and over again. For we have come into this world, not to make laws for its governance, but to obey the commandments of the gods who preside over the universe, and the decrees of Fate or Providence.

19. But do those who mourn for the untimely dead, mourn on their own account or on account of the departed? If on their own account, because they have been cut off from some gratification or profit or comfort in old age, which they might have expected from the dead, then is their excuse for grieving wholly

*ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὠφελείας φανήσονται. εἰ δὲ
τῶν τεθνεώτων ἕνεκα πενθοῦσιν, ἐπιστήσαντες ὅτι*
F *ἐν οὐδενὶ κακῷ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, ἀπαλλαγήσονται
τῆς λύπης, ἀρχαίῳ καὶ σοφῷ πεισθέντες λόγῳ τῷ
παραινοῦντι τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖν ὡς μέγιστα, τὰ
δὲ κακὰ συστέλλειν καὶ ταπεινοῦν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸ
πένθος ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν, δεῖ ποιεῖν αὐτὸ ὡς πλεῖστον
καὶ μέγιστον· εἰ δ', ὥσπερ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔχει, κακὸν
αὐτὸ ὁμολογοῦμεν εἶναι, συστέλλειν καὶ ποιεῖν ὡς
ἐλάχιστον καὶ ἐξαλείφειν εἰς τὸ δυνατόν.*

*Ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ῥᾴδιον, καταφανὲς ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης
παραμυθίας. φασὶ γάρ τινα τῶν ἀρχαίων φιλο-
σόφων εἰσιόντα πρὸς Ἀρσινόην τὴν βασίλισσαν*
112 *πενθοῦσαν τὸν υἱὸν τοιούτῳ χρήσασθαι λόγῳ,
φάμενον ὅτι καθ' ὃν χρόνον ὁ Ζεὺς ἔνεμε τοῖς
δαίμοσι τὰς τιμάς, οὐκ ἔτυχε παρὸν τὸ Πένθος,
ἤδη δὲ νενεμημένων ἦλθεν ὕστερον. τὸν οὖν Δία,
ὡς ἠξίου καὶ αὐτῷ τιμὴν δοθῆναι, ἀποροῦντα διὰ
τὸ ἤδη κατηναλῶσθαι πάσας τοῖς ἄλλοις, ταύτην
αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασι γιγνομένην,
οἷον δάκρυα καὶ λύπας. ὥσπερ οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους
δαίμονας, ὑφ' ὧν τιμῶνται, τούτους ἀγαπᾶν, τὸν*
B *αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ Πένθος. "ἐὰν μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ
ἀτιμάσῃς, ὦ γύναι, οὐ προσελεύσεταί σοι· ἐὰν δὲ
τιμᾶται ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐπιμελῶς ταῖς δοθείσαις αὐτῷ
τιμαῖς, λύπαις καὶ θρήνοις, ἀγαπήσει σε καὶ ἀεί τί
σοι παρέσται τοιοῦτον ἐφ' ᾧ τιμηθήσεται συνεχῶς
ὑπὸ σοῦ." θαυμασίως δὴ φαίνεται τῷ λόγῳ
πείσας οὗτος παρελέσθαι τῆς ἀνθρώπου τὸ πένθος
καὶ τοὺς θρήνους.*

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[a] *Cf. Moralia* 609 F, where the idea is attributed to Aesop.

selfish; for it will be plain that they mourn, not for them, but for their services. But if they mourn on account of the dead, then if they will fix their attention on the fact that the dead are in no evil state, they will rid themselves of grief by following that wise and ancient admonition to magnify the good and to minimize and lessen the evil. If, then, mourning is a good, we ought to enlarge and magnify it in every way. But if, as the truth is, we admit it to be an evil, we ought to minimize and reduce it, and as far as possible to efface it.

That this is easy is plainly to be seen from the following sort of consolation. They say that one of the ancient philosophers visited Arsinoë, the queen, who was mourning for her son, and made use of this story,[a] saying that at the time Zeus was distributing to the deities their honours, Mourning did not happen to be present, but arrived after the distribution had been made. But when she said it was only right that some honour be given to her also, Zeus, being perplexed, since all the honours had been used up, finally gave her that honour which is paid in the case of those who have died—tears and griefs. Just as the other deities, therefore, are fond of those by whom they are honoured, so also is Mourning. "Therefore, Madame, if you treat her with disrespect, she will not come near you; but if she is strictly honoured by you with the honours which were conceded to her, namely griefs and lamentations, she will love you and affectionately will be ever with you, provided only she be constantly honoured by you." Admirably, it appears, he succeeded, by this story, in convincing the woman and in alleviating her mourning and lamentations.

(112) 20. Τὸ δ' ὅλον εἴποι τις ἂν πρὸς τὸν πενθοῦντα "πότερα παύσῃ ποτὲ δυσφορῶν ἢ ἀεὶ δεῖν οἰήσῃ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀεὶ μενεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ δυσπαθείᾳ ταύτῃ, τελείαν ἀθλιότητα
C σεαυτῷ παρέξεις καὶ πικροτάτην κακοδαιμονίαν διὰ ψυχῆς ἀγέννειαν καὶ μαλακίαν· εἰ δὲ μεταθήσῃ ποτέ, τί οὐκ ἤδη μετατίθεσαι καὶ σεαυτὸν ἀνέλκεις ἐκ τῆς ἀτυχίας; οἷς γὰρ λόγοις τοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος χρησάμενος ἀπολυθήσῃ, τούτοις νῦν προσσχὼν ἀπαλλάγηθι τῆς κακουχίας· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματικῶν παθημάτων ἡ ταχίστη τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς ὁδὸς ἀμείνων. ὃ οὖν μέλλεις τῷ χρόνῳ χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦτο τῷ λόγῳ χάρισαι καὶ τῇ παιδείᾳ, καὶ σεαυτὸν ἔκλυσαι τῶν κακῶν.

21. "'Αλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἤλπιζον," φησί, "ταῦτα
D πείσεσθαι, οὐδὲ προσεδόκων." ἀλλ' ἐχρῆν σε προσδοκᾶν καὶ προκατακεκρικέναι τῶν ἀνθρωπείων τὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ οὐδένειαν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν νῦν ἀπαράσκευος ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πολεμίων ἐξαίφνης ἐπελθόντων ἐλήφθης. καλῶς γὰρ ὁ παρὰ τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ Θησεὺς παρεσκευάσθαι φαίνεται πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἐκεῖνος γάρ φησιν·

ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα[1] παρὰ σοφοῦ τινος μαθὼν
εἰς φροντίδας νοῦν συμφοράς τ'[2] ἐβαλλόμην,
φυγάς τ' ἐμαυτῷ προστιθεὶς πάτρας ἐμῆς
θανάτους τ' ἀώρους καὶ κακῶν ἄλλας ὁδούς,

[1] ταῦτα added from Cicero.
[2] νοῦν συμφοράς τ' Galen, vol. v. p. 151 Chart., p. 418 Kühn.: εἰς συμφορὰς.

[a] In an unknown play; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*,

20. In general one might say to the man who mourns, "Shall you at some time cease to take this to heart, or shall you feel that you must grieve always every day of your life? For if you purpose to remain always in this extreme state of affliction, you will bring complete wretchedness and the most bitter misery upon yourself by the ignobleness and cowardice of your soul. But if you intend some time to change your attitude, why do you not change it at once and extricate yourself from this misfortune? Give attention now to those arguments by the use of which, as time goes on, your release shall be accomplished, and relieve yourself now of your sad condition. For in the case of bodily afflictions the quickest way of relief is the better. Therefore concede now to reason and education what you surely will later concede to time, and release yourself from your troubles."

21. "But I cannot," he says, "for I never expected or looked for this experience." But you ought to have looked for it, and to have previously pronounced judgement on human affairs for their uncertainty and fatuity, and then you would not now have been taken off your guard as by enemies suddenly come upon you. Admirably does Theseus in Euripides [a] appear to have prepared himself for such crises, for he says:

> But I have learned this from a certain sage,
> And on these cares and troubles set my mind,
> And on myself laid exile from my land
> And early deaths and other forms of ills,

[a] Euripides, No. 964 D; *cf.* the translation by Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, iii. 14 (29).

ἵν' εἴ τι πάσχοιμ' ὧν ἐδόξαζον φρενί,
E μή μοι νεῶρες[1] προσπεσὸν μᾶλλον δάκοι.[2]

οἱ δ' ἀγεννέστεροι καὶ ἀνασκήτως διακείμενοι οὐδ' ἀναστροφὴν ἐνίοτε λαμβάνουσι πρὸς τὸ βουλεύσασθαί τι τῶν εὐσχημόνων καὶ συμφερόντων, ἀλλ' ἐκτρέπονται πρὸς τὰς ἐσχάτας ταλαιπωρίας, τὸ μηδὲν αἴτιον σῶμα τιμωρούμενοι καὶ τὰ μὴ νοσοῦντα κατὰ τὸν Ἀχαιὸν συναλγεῖν ἀναγκάζοντες.

22. Διὸ καὶ πάνυ καλῶς ὁ Πλάτων ἔοικε παραινεῖν ἐν "ταῖς" τοιαύταις "συμφοραῖς ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, ὡς οὔτε δήλου ὄντος τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τοῦ
F ἀγαθοῦ, οὔτ' εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οὐδὲν προβαῖνον τῷ χαλεπῶς φέροντι· ἐμποδὼν γὰρ γίγνεσθαι τὸ λυπεῖσθαι τῷ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τοῦ γεγονότος[3] καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν πτώσει κύβων πρὸς τὰ πεπτωκότα τίθεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράγματα, ὅπῃ ὁ λόγος[4] αἱρεῖ βέλτιστ' ἂν[5] ἔχειν. οὐ δεῖν οὖν προσπταίσαντας καθάπερ παῖδας ἐχομένους τοῦ πληγέντος βοᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐθίζειν τὴν ψυχὴν ὅτι τάχιστα γίγνεσθαι περὶ τὸ ἰᾶσθαί τε καὶ ἐπανορθοῦν τὸ πεσόν τε καὶ νοσῆσαν, ἰατρικῇ θρηνῳδίαν ἀφανίζοντας."

Τὸν τῶν Λυκίων[6] νομοθέτην φασὶ προστάξαι τοῖς αὑτοῦ πολίταις, ἐπὰν πενθῶσι, γυναικείαν ἀμφιεσαμένους ἐσθῆτα πενθεῖν, ἐμφαίνειν βουληθέντα ὅτι
113 γυναικῶδες τὸ πάθος καὶ οὐχ ἁρμόττον ἀνδράσι κοσμίοις καὶ παιδείας ἐλευθερίου[7] μεταπεποιημένοις. θῆλυ γὰρ ὄντως καὶ ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀγεννὲς τὸ

[1] νεῶρες Musgrave: νεαρὸν.
[2] δάκοι Galen, *ibid.*: δάκῃ.
[3] τὸ γεγονὸς Plato MSS.
[4] ὁ λόγος Plato MSS.: λόγος.
[5] βέλτιστ' ἂν Plato MSS.: βέλτιστα.
[6] Λυκίων] Λοκρῶν Hartman.
[7] ἐλευθερίου Hertlin: ἐλευθέρου.

That if I suffer aught my fancy saw,
It should not, coming newly, hurt the more.

But the more ignoble and untutored sometimes cannot even recall themselves to the consideration of anything seemly and profitable, but go out of their way to find extremes of wretchedness, even to punishing their innocent body and to forcing the unafflicted, as Achaeus[a] says, to join in their grief.

22. Wherefore very excellently Plato[b] appears to advise us "in" such "misfortunes to maintain a calm demeanour, since neither the evil nor the good in them is at all plain, and since no advance is made by the man who takes things much to heart. For grief stands in the way of sane counsel about an event and prevents one from arranging his affairs with relation to what has befallen, as a player does at a throw of the dice, in whatever way reason may convince him would be best. We ought not, therefore, when we have fallen to act like children and hold on to the injured place and scream, but we should accustom our soul speedily to concern itself with curing the injury and raising up the fallen, and we should put away lamentation by remedial art."

They say that the lawgiver of the Lycians[c] ordered his citizens, whenever they mourned, to clothe themselves first in women's garments and then to mourn, wishing to make it clear that mourning is womanish and unbecoming to decorous men who lay claim to the education of the free-born. Yes, mourning is verily feminine, and weak, and ignoble, since

[a] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 757, Achaeus, No. 45.
[b] Adapted from the *Republic*, p. 604 B.
[c] *Cf.* Valerius Maximus, ii. 6. 13.

(113) πενθεῖν· γυναῖκες γὰρ ἀνδρῶν εἰσι φιλοπενθέστεραι καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ οἱ χείρους ἄνδρες τῶν ἀμεινόνων, καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐχ οἱ γενναιότατοι, Κελτοὶ καὶ Γαλάται καὶ πάντες οἱ φρονήματος ἀνδρειοτέρου πεφυκότες ἔμπλεῳ, μᾶλλον δ', εἴπερ ἄρα, Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Σύροι καὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ πάντες ὅσοι τούτοις παρα-
B πλήσιοι. τούτων γὰρ τοὺς μὲν εἰς βόθρους τινὰς καταδύντας ἱστοροῦσιν ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας μένειν, μηδὲ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς ὁρᾶν βουλομένους, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ τετελευτηκὼς ἀπεστέρηται τούτου. Ἴων γοῦν ὁ τραγικὸς ποιητής, οὐκ ἀνήκοος ὢν τῆς τούτων εὐηθείας,[1] πεποίηκέ τινα λέγουσαν·

> ἐξῆλθον ὑμῶν ἱκέτις ἡβώντων[2] τροφὸς
> παίδων, βόθρους λιποῦσα πενθητηρίους.

τινὲς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἀποτέμνουσι, ῥῖνας καὶ ὦτα, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα καταικίζοντες, δοκοῦντές τι χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἀπαρτώμενοι τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις μετριοπαθείας.

C 23. Ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία τινὲς ὑποτυγχάνοντες οὐκ ἐπὶ παντὶ θανάτῳ τὰ πένθη δεῖν οἴονται γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀώροις, διὰ τὸ μηδενὸς τετυχηκέναι τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ νενομισμένων ἀγαθῶν, οἷον γάμου παιδείας τελειότητος πολιτείας ἀρχῶν (ταῦτα γὰρ εἶναι τὰ λυποῦντα μάλιστα τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀώροις ἀτυχοῦντας, διὰ τὸ ἀφῃρῆσθαι πρὸ τοῦ δέοντος τῆς ἐλπίδος), ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ὁ ἄωρος θάνατος ὡς πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν οὐδὲν διαφέρει.

[1] εὐηθείας] συνηθείας Hartman.

[2] The reading ὑμῶν . . . ἡβώντων is found only in one MS. (B); the rest give nothing intelligible.

women are more given to it than men, and barbarians more than Greeks, and inferior men more than better men; and of the barbarians themselves, not the most noble, Celts and Galatians, and all who by nature are filled with a more manly spirit, but rather, if such there are, the Egyptians and Syrians and Lydians and all those who are like them. For it is recorded that some of these go down into pits and remain there for several days, not desiring even to behold the light of the sun since the deceased also is bereft of it. At any rate the tragic poet Ion,[a] who was not without knowledge of the foolishness of these peoples, has represented a woman as saying:

> The nurse of lusty children I have come,
> To supplicate you, from the mourning pits.

And some of the barbarians even cut off parts of their bodies, their noses and ears, and mutilate other portions of their bodies also, thinking to gratify the dead by abandoning that moderation of feeling which Nature enjoins in such cases.

23. But I dare say that, in answer to this, some may assert their belief that there need not be mourning for every death, but only for untimely deaths, because of the failure of the dead to gain what are commonly held to be the advantages of life, such as marriage, education, manhood, citizenship, or public office (for these are the considerations, they say, which most cause grief to those who suffer misfortune through untimely deaths, since they are robbed of their hope out of due time); but they do not realize that the untimely death shows no disparity if it be considered with reference to the

[a] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 743, Ion, No. 54.

(113) καθάπερ γὰρ τῆς εἰς καινὴν[1] πατρίδα πορείας προκειμένης πᾶσιν ἀναγκαίας καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου οἱ μὲν προπορεύονται οἱ δ' ἐπακολουθοῦσι, πάντες δ' ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν ἔρχονται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῶν εἰς τὸ χρεὼν ὁδευόντων οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες τυγχά-
D νουσιν οἱ βραδύτερον ἀφικνούμενοι τῶν θᾶττον παραγιγνομένων. εἴ γε μὴν ὁ ἄωρος θάνατος κακόν ἐστιν, ἀωρότατος ἂν εἴη ὁ τῶν νηπίων καὶ παίδων καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ τῶν ἄρτι γεγονότων. ἀλλὰ τοὺς τούτων θανάτους ῥᾳδίως φέρομεν καὶ εὐθύμως, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἤδη προβεβηκότων δυσχερῶς καὶ πενθικῶς διὰ τὸν ἐκ ματαίων ἐλπίδων ἀναπλασμόν, ἤδη νομιζόντων ἡμῶν βεβαίαν ἔχειν τὴν τῶν τηλικούτων διαμονήν. εἰ δ' ὁ τῆς ζωῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων χρόνος εἰκοσαέτης ἦν, τὸν πεντεκαιδεκαέτη ἀπογενόμενον ἐνομίζομεν ἂν μηκέτ' ἄωρον τελευτᾶν ἀλλ' ἤδη μέτρον ἡλικίας ἔχοντα
E ἱκανόν· τὸν δὲ τὴν τῶν εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν προθεσμίαν ἐκπληρώσαντα ἢ τὸν ἐγγὺς γενόμενον τοῦ τῶν εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἀριθμοῦ πάντως ἂν ἐμακαρίζομεν ὡς εὐδαιμονέστατον καὶ τελειότατον διαπεράσαντα βίον. εἰ δὲ διακοσίων ἐτῶν ἦν, τὸν ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν τελευτήσαντα πάντως ἂν ἄωρον νομίζοντες εἶναι πρὸς ὀδυρμοὺς καὶ θρήνους ἐτραπόμεθα.

24. Δῆλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος ἄωρος θάνατος εὐπαραμύθητός ἐστι διά τε ταῦτα καὶ τὰ προειρημένα ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν. μεῖον γὰρ ὄντως
F ἐδάκρυσε Τρωΐλος ἢ Πρίαμος· οὐδ' οὗτος,[2] εἰ

[1] καινὴν F.C.B. : κοινήν.
[2] οὐδ' οὗτος F.C.B. : οὗτος or αὐτός.

[a] A saying of Callimachus; *cf.* Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, i. 93 (39); Plutarch, *Moralia*, 211 A.

common lot of man. For just as when it has been decided to migrate to a new fatherland, and the journey is compulsory for all, and none by entreaty can escape it, some go on ahead and others follow after, but all come to the same place; in the same manner, of all who are journeying toward Destiny those who come more tardily have no advantage over those who arrive earlier. If it be true that untimely death is an evil, the most untimely would be that of infants and children, and still more that of the newly born. But such deaths we bear easily and cheerfully, but the deaths of those who have already lived some time with distress and mourning because of our fanciful notion, born of vain hopes, since we have come to feel quite assured of the continued tarrying with us of persons who have lived so long. But if the years of man's life were but twenty, we should feel that he who passed away at fifteen had not died untimely, but that he had already attained an adequate measure of age, while the man who had completed the prescribed period of twenty years, or who had come close to the count of twenty years, we should assuredly deem happy as having lived through a most blessed and perfect life. But if the length of life were two hundred years, we should certainly feel that he who came to his end at one hundred was cut off untimely, and we should betake ourselves to wailing and lamentation.

24. It is evident, therefore, that even the death which we call untimely readily admits of consolation, both for these reasons and for those previously given. For in fact Troïlus shed fewer tears than did Priam; [a]

προετελεύτησεν ἔτ' ἀκμαζούσης αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης τύχης, ἂν[1] *ἐθρήνει οἷα γοῦν πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ διελέχθη υἱὸν Ἕκτορα, παραινῶν ἀναχωρεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα μάχης, ἐν οἷς φησιν·*

ἀλλ' εἰσέρχεο τεῖχος, ἐμὸν τέκος, ὄφρα σαώσῃς
Τρῶας καὶ Τρῳάς,[2] *μηδὲ μέγα κῦδος ὀρέξῃς*
Πηλείδῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμερθῇς·
114 *πρὸς δ' ἐμὲ τὸν δύστηνον ἔτι φρονέοντ' ἐλέησον,*
δύσμορον, ὅν ῥα πατὴρ Κρονίδης ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ
αἴσῃ ἐν ἀργαλέῃ φθίσει, κακὰ πόλλ' ἐπιδόντα,
υἷάς τ' ὀλλυμένους, ἑλκηθείσας τε θύγατρας,
καὶ θαλάμους κεραϊζομένους, καὶ νήπια τέκνα
βαλλόμενα ποτὶ γαίῃ, ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊοτῆτι,
ἑλκομένας τε νυοὺς ὀλοῇς ὑπὸ χερσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.[3]
αὐτὸν δ' ἂν πύματόν με κύνες πρώτῃσι θύρῃσι
ὠμησταὶ ἐρύωσιν,[4] *ἐπεί κέ τις ὀξέι χαλκῷ*
B *τύψας ἠὲ βαλὼν ῥεθέων ἐκ θυμὸν ἕληται.*
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πολιόν τε κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον
αἰδῶ τ' αἰσχύνωσι κύνες κταμένοιο γέροντος,
τοῦτο δὴ οἴκτιστον πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.
ἦ ῥ' ὁ γέρων· πολιὰς δ' ἄρ' ἀνὰ τρίχας ἕλκετο χερσί,
τίλλων ἐκ κεφαλῆς, οὐδ' Ἕκτορι θυμὸν ἔπειθεν.

Ὄντων οὖν σοι παμπόλλων παραδειγμάτων περὶ

[1] *ἂν* F.C.B.: *ἧσσον ἂν* Madvig: *ἣν* or *ἧς*.
[2] *Τρῳάς* Homer, X 56: *τρωϊάδας*.
[3] *ἑλκομένας . . . Ἀχαιῶν*] this verse is omitted in most MSS. of Plutarch.
[4] *ἐρύωσιν* (or *ἐρύσωσιν*)] *ἐρύουσιν* Homer and one MS.

[a] Homer, *Il.* xxii. 56.

and if Priam had died earlier, while his kingdom and his great prosperity were at their height, he would not have used such sad words as he did in his conversation with his own son Hector, when he advised him to withdraw from the battle with Achilles; he says:[a]

Come then within the walled city, my son, so to save from destruction
All of the men and the women of Troy, nor afford a great triumph
Unto the offspring of Peleus, and forfeit the years of your lifetime.
Also for me have compassion, ill-starred, while yet I have feeling;
Hapless I am; on the threshold of eld will the Father, descended from Cronus,
Make me to perish in pitiful doom, after visions of evils,
Sons being slain and our daughters as well being dragged to be captives,
Chambers of treasure all wantonly plundered and poor little children
Dashed to the earth in the terrible strife by the merciless foeman,
Wives of my sons being dragged by the ravishing hands of Achaeans.
Me, last of all, at the very front doors shall the dogs tear to pieces,
Ravening, eager for blood, when a foeman wielding his weapon,
Keen-edged of bronze, by a stroke or a throw, takes the life from my body.
Yet when the dogs bring defilement on hair and on beard that is hoary,
And on the body as well of an old man slain by the foeman,
This is the saddest of sights ever seen by us unhappy mortals."
Thus did the old man speak, and his hoary locks plucked by the handful,
Tearing his hair from his head, but he moved not the spirit of Hector.

Since you have, then, so very many examples

(114) τούτων ἐννοήθητι τὸν θάνατον οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀπαλλάττειν μεγάλων καὶ χαλεπῶν κακῶν, ὧν, εἰ
C ἐπεβίωσαν, πάντως ἂν ἐπειράθησαν. ἃ φειδόμενος τῆς τοῦ λόγου συμμετρίας παρέλιπον, ἀρκεσθεὶς τοῖς εἰρημένοις πρὸς τὸ μὴ δεῖν πέρα τοῦ φυσικοῦ καὶ μετρίου πρὸς ἄπρακτα πένθη καὶ θρήνους ἀγεννεῖς ἐκτρέπεσθαι.

25. Τὸ γὰρ μὴ δι' αὑτὸν κακῶς πράττειν ὁ μὲν Κράντωρ φησὶν οὐ μικρὸν εἶναι κούφισμα πρὸς τὰς τύχας, ἐγὼ δ' ἂν εἴποιμι φάρμακον ἀλυπίας εἶναι μέγιστον. τὸ δὲ φιλεῖν τὸν μεταλλάξαντα καὶ στέργειν οὐκ ἐν τῷ λυπεῖν ἑαυτούς ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τὸν ἀγαπώμενον ὠφελεῖν· ὠφέλεια δ' ἐστὶ τοῖς
D ἀφῃρημένοις ἡ διὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς μνήμης τιμή. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀγαθὸς ἄξιος θρήνων ἀλλ' ὕμνων καὶ παιάνων,[1] οὐδὲ πένθους ἀλλὰ μνήμης εὐκλεοῦς, οὐδὲ δακρύων ἐπωδύνων ἀλλὰ θυσιῶν[2] ἀπαρχῶν, εἴ γ' ὁ μετηλλαχὼς θειότερόν τινα βίον μετείληφεν, ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῆς τοῦ σώματος λατρείας καὶ τῶν ἀτρύτων τούτων φροντίδων τε καὶ συμφορῶν, ἃς ἀνάγκη τοὺς εἰληχότας τὸν θνητὸν βίον ὑπομένειν, ἕως ἂν ἐκπλήσωσι τὸν ἐπικλωσθέντα τῆς ζωῆς βίον,[3] ὃν ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ἡ φύσις οὐκ εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀπένειμε τὸν μερισθέντα κατὰ τοὺς τῆς εἱμαρμένης νόμους.

E 26. Διὸ τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθνῄσκουσιν οὐ χρὴ πέρα τοῦ φυσικοῦ καὶ μετρίου τῆς περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν λύπης εἰς ἄπρακτα καὶ βαρβαρικὰ

[1] παιάνων Lennep: ἐπαίνων.
[2] ἀλλὰ θυσιῶν F.C.B.: ἀλλὰ θείων Pierson: ἀλλ' ἐτείων Reiske: ἀλλ' ἀστείων. [3] βίον] μίτον Hercher, κλῆρον Paton.

[a] Mullach, *Frag. Philos. Graec.* iii. p. 149.

regarding the matter, bear in mind the fact that death relieves not a few persons from great and grievous ills which, if they had lived on, they would surely have experienced. But, out of regard for the due proportions of my argument, I omit these, contenting myself with what has been said touching the wrongfulness of being carried away beyond natural and moderate bounds to futile mourning and ignoble lamentation.

25. Crantor[a] says that not being to blame for one's unhappy state is no small alleviation for misfortunes; but I should say that it surpasses all others as a remedy for the cure of grief. But affection and love for the departed does not consist in distressing ourselves, but in benefiting the beloved one; and a benefit for those who have been taken away is the honour paid to them through keeping their memory green. For no good man, after he is dead, is deserving of lamentations, but of hymns and songs of joy; not of mourning, but of an honourable memory; not of sorrowing tears, but of offerings of sacrifice,—if the departed one is now a partaker in some life more divine, relieved of servitude to the body, and of these everlasting cares and misfortunes which those who have received a mortal life as their portion are constrained to undergo until such time as they shall complete their allotted earthly existence, which Nature has not given to us for eternity; but she has distributed to us severally the apportioned amount in accordance with the laws of fate.

26. Wherefore, over those who die men of good sense ought not to be carried away by sorrow beyond the natural and moderate limit of grief, which so affects the soul, into useless and barbarian

πένθη παρεκτρέπεσθαι καὶ τοῦθ' ὅπερ πολλοῖς ἤδη συνέβη περιμένειν, ὥστε πρὶν ἀπώσασθαι τὰ πένθη κακουχουμένους τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον καὶ ἐν τοῖς πενθίμοις τῆς κακοδαίμονος ταφῆς μεταλαβεῖν, ἅμα τῶν τε ἀνιαρῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀλογιστίας κακῶν συγκηδευομένων αὐτοῖς, ὥστ' ἐπιφθέγξασθαι τὸ Ὁμηρικόν

μυρομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι μέλας ἐπὶ ἕσπερος ἦλθε.

Διὸ καὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς προσδιαλέγεσθαι χρή,
F "*τί δέ; παυσόμεθά ποτε λυπούμενοι ἢ ἀκαταπαύστῳ συμφορᾷ συνεσόμεθα μέχρι παντὸς τοῦ βίου;*" *τὸ γὰρ δὴ ἀτελεύτητον νομίζειν*[1] *τὸ πένθος ἀνοίας ἐστὶν ἐσχάτης, καίτοι γ' ὁρῶντας ὡς καὶ οἱ βαρυλυπότατοι καὶ πολυπενθέστατοι πραότατοι γίγνονται πολλάκις ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἐδυσχέραινον σφόδρα μνήμασιν ἀνοιμώζοντες καὶ στερνοτυπούμενοι λαμπρὰς εὐωχίας συνίστανται μετὰ μουσουργῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης διαχύσεως. μεμηνότος οὖν ἐστι τὸ οὕτως ὑπολαμβάνειν παρά-*
115 *μονον ἕξειν τὸ πένθος. ἀλλ' εἰ λογίζοιντ' ὅτι παύσεταί τινος γενομένου, προσαναλογίσαιντ' ἂν χρόνου δηλαδή τι ποιήσαντος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ γεγενημένον οὐδὲ θεῷ δυνατόν ἐστι ποιῆσαι ἀγένητον. οὐκοῦν τὸ νῦν παρ' ἐλπίδα συμβεβηκὸς καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν δόξαν ἔδειξε τὸ εἰωθὸς περὶ πολλοὺς*

[1] *νομίζειν*] *νομίζειν τι* in many MSS.

[a] Combined from *Il.* xxiii. 109, and *Od.* i. 423 (= *Od.* xviii. 306).

mourning, and they ought not to wait for that outcome which has already been the lot of many in the past, the result of which is that they terminate their own lives in misery before they have put off their mourning, and gain nothing but a forlorn burial in their garments of sorrow, as their woes and the ills born of their unreasonableness follow them to the grave, so that one might utter over them the verse of Homer:[a]

> While they were weeping and wailing black darkness descended upon them.

We should therefore often hold converse with ourselves after this fashion and say: "What? Shall we some day cease grieving, or shall we consort with unceasing misery to the very end of our life?" For to regard our mourning as unending is the mark of the most extreme foolishness, especially when we observe how those who have been in the deepest grief and greatest mourning often become most cheerful under the influence of time, and at the very tombs where they gave violent expression to their grief by wailing and beating their breasts, they arrange most elaborate banquets with musicians and all the other forms of diversion. It is accordingly the mark of a madman thus to assume that he shall keep his mourning permanently. If, however, men should reason that mourning will come to an end after some particular event, they might go on and reason that it will come to an end when time, forsooth, has produced some effect; for not even God can undo what has been done. So, then, that which in the present instance has come to pass contrary to our expectation and contrary to our opinion has only demonstrated what is wont, through

(115) γίγνεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων. τί οὖν; ἆρά γ' ἡμεῖς τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ λόγου μαθεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα οὐδ' ἐπιλογίσασθαι ὅτι

πλείη μὲν γαῖα κακῶν πλείη δὲ θάλασσα

καὶ τά·

τοιάδε θνητοῖσι κακὰ κακῶν
ἀμφί τε κῆρες εἰλεῦνται, κενεὴ δ' εἴσδυσις
B οὐδ' αἰθέρι;

27. Πολλοῖς γὰρ καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὥς φησι Κράντωρ, οὐ νῦν ἀλλὰ πάλαι κέκλαυσται τἀνθρώπινα, τιμωρίαν ἡγουμένοις εἶναι τὸν βίον καὶ ἀρχὴν τὸ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον συμφορὰν τὴν μεγίστην· τοῦτο δέ φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ τὸν Σειληνὸν συλληφθέντα τῷ Μίδᾳ ἀποφήνασθαι. βέλτιον δ' αὐτὰς τὰς τοῦ φιλοσόφου λέξεις παραθέσθαι. φησὶ δὴ ἐν τῷ Εὐδήμῳ ἐπιγραφομένῳ ἢ Περὶ ψυχῆς ταυτί. "διόπερ, ὦ κράτιστε πάντων καὶ μακαριστότατε, πρὸς τῷ μακαρίους καὶ εὐδαίμονας εἶναι τοὺς τετε-
C λευτηκότας νομίζειν καὶ τὸ ψεύσασθαί τι κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ βλασφημεῖν οὐχ ὅσιον ὡς κατὰ βελτιόνων ἡγούμεθα καὶ κρειττόνων ἤδη γεγονότων. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἀρχαῖα καὶ παλαιὰ[1] παρ' ἡμῖν, ὥστε τὸ παράπαν οὐδεὶς οἶδεν οὔτε τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀρχὴν οὔτε τὸν θέντα πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα διατελεῖ[2] νενομισμένα. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις

[1] παλαιὰ Sauppe: παλαιὰ διατελεῖ νενομισμένα.
[2] διατελεῖ Sauppe: τυγχάνουσι διὰ τέλους οὕτω. The chance is remote that such emendations can be right, but they do not affect the sense.

[a] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 101; *cf.* 105 E *supra.*

the very course of events, to happen in the case of many men. What then? Are we unable, through reason, to learn this fact and draw the conclusion, that

> Full is the earth now of evils, and full of them too is the ocean,[a]

and also this:

> Such woes of woes for mortal men,
> And round about the Fates throng close;
> There is no vacant pathway for the air?[b]

27. Not merely now, but long ago, as Crantor[c] says, the lot of man has been bewailed by many wise men, who have felt that life is a punishment and that for man to be born at all is the greatest calamity. Aristotle[d] says that Silenus when he was captured declared this to Midas. It is better to quote the very words of the philosopher. He says, in the work which is entitled *Eudemus*, or *Of the Soul*, the following: "'Wherefore, O best and blessedest of all, in addition to believing that those who have ended this life are blessed and happy, we also think that to say anything false or slanderous against them is impious, from our feeling that it is directed against those who have already become our betters and superiors. And this is such an old and ancient belief with us that no one knows at all either the beginning of the time or the name of the person who first promulgated it, but it continues to be a fixed belief for all time.[e]

[b] From an unknown lyric poet; *cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 689.

[c] Mullach, *Frag. Philos. Graec.* iii. p. 149.

[d] *Cf.* Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, i. 48 (114), and Aristotle, *Frag.* No. 44 Rose.

[e] *Cf.* Sophocles, *Antigone*, 466.

(115) τὸ[1] διὰ στόματος ὂν[2] τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁρᾷς ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν περιφέρεται θρυλούμενον." "τί τοῦτ';" ἔφη. κἀκεῖνος ὑπολαβὼν "ὡς ἄρα μὴ γενέσθαι[3] μέν," ἔφη, "ἄριστον πάντων, τὸ δὲ
D τεθνάναι τοῦ ζῆν ἐστι κρεῖττον. καὶ πολλοῖς οὕτω παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου μεμαρτύρηται. τοῦτο μὲν ἐκείνῳ τῷ Μίδᾳ λέγουσι δήπου μετὰ τὴν θήραν ὡς ἔλαβε τὸν Σειληνὸν διερωτῶντι καὶ πυνθανομένῳ τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ βέλτιστον[4] τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τί τὸ πάντων αἱρετώτατον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐδὲν ἐθέλειν εἰπεῖν ἀλλὰ σιωπᾶν ἀρρήτως· ἐπειδὴ δέ ποτε μόγις πᾶσαν μηχανὴν μηχανώμενος προσηγάγετο φθέγξασθαί τι πρὸς αὐτόν, οὕτως ἀναγκαζόμενον εἰπεῖν, 'δαίμονος ἐπιπόνου καὶ τύχης χαλεπῆς ἐφήμερον σπέρμα, τί με βιάζεσθε λέγειν ἃ ὑμῖν
E ἄρειον μὴ γνῶναι; μετ' ἀγνοίας γὰρ τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν ἀλυπότατος ὁ βίος. ἀνθρώποις δὲ πάμπαν οὐκ ἔστι γενέσθαι τὸ πάντων ἄριστον οὐδὲ μετασχεῖν τῆς τοῦ βελτίστου φύσεως (ἄριστον γὰρ πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι)· τὸ μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ πρῶτον τῶν ἀνθρώπῳ ἀνυστῶν,[5] δεύτερον δέ, τὸ γενομένους ἀποθανεῖν ὡς τάχιστα.' δῆλον οὖν ὡς οὔσης κρείττονος τῆς ἐν τῷ τεθνάναι διαγωγῆς ἢ τῆς ἐν τῷ ζῆν, οὕτως ἀπεφήνατο." μυρία δ' ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἄν τις ἔχοι τοιαῦτα παρατίθεσθαι πρὸς ταὐτὸ κεφάλαιον· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον μακρηγορεῖν.

[1] τὸ added by Kronenberg. [2] ὂν Halm: ἐν.
[3] γενέσθαι Bernardakis: γίνεσθαι.
[4] βέλτιστον Meziriacus: βέλτιον.
[5] ἀνθρώπῳ ἀνυστῶν Reiske (a harmless emendation): ἄλλων ἀνυστὸν.

And in addition to this you observe how the saying, which is on the lips of all men, has been passed from mouth to mouth for many years.' 'What is this?' said he. And the other, again taking up the discourse, said: 'That not to be born is the best of all, and that to be dead is better than to live. And the proof that this is so has been given to many men by the deity. So, for example, they say that Silenus, after the hunt in which Midas of yore had captured him, when Midas questioned and inquired of him what is the best thing for mankind and what is the most preferable of all things, was at first unwilling to tell, but maintained a stubborn silence. But when at last, by employing every device, Midas induced him to say something to him, Silenus, forced to speak, said: "Ephemeral offspring of a travailing genius and of harsh fortune, why do you force me to speak what it were better for you men not to know? For a life spent in ignorance of one's own woes is most free from grief. But for men it is utterly impossible that they should obtain the best thing of all, or even have any share in its nature (for the best thing for all men and women is not to be born); however, the next best thing to this, and the first of those to which man can attain, but nevertheless only the second best, is, after being born, to die as quickly as possible."[a] It is evident, therefore, that he made this declaration with the conviction that the existence after death is better than that in life.'" One might cite thousands and thousands of examples under this same head, but there is no need to be prolix.

[a] *Cf.* Theognis, 425; Bacchylides, v. 160; Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 1225; Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, i. 48 (115).

F 28. Οὐ χρὴ οὖν τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας νέους θρηνεῖν ὅτι τῶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ βίῳ νομιζομένων ἀγαθῶν ἀπεστέρηνται· τοῦτο γὰρ ἄδηλον, ὡς πολλάκις εἴπομεν, εἴτ' ἀγαθῶν ἀπεστερημένοι τυγχάνουσιν εἴτε κακῶν· πολλῷ γὰρ πλείονα τὰ κακά. καὶ τὰ μὲν μόγις καὶ διὰ πολλῶν φροντίδων κτώμεθα, τὰ δὲ κακὰ πάνυ ῥᾳδίως· στρογγύλα γὰρ εἶναί φασι ταῦτα καὶ συνεχῆ καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα φερόμενα κατὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας, τὰ δ' ἀγαθὰ διεχῆ τε καὶ δυσκόλως συνερχόμενα πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῦ βίου τοῖς τέρμασιν.
116 ἐπιλελησμένοις οὖν ἐοίκαμεν ὅτι οὐ μόνον, ὥς φησιν Εὐριπίδης,

"τὰ χρήματα" οὐκ "ἴδια κέκτηνται βροτοί,"

ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων οὐδέν. διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων λέγειν χρή·

τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιμελούμεθα.
ὅταν δὲ χρῄζωσ', αὔτ' ἀφαιροῦνται πάλιν.

οὐ δεῖ οὖν δυσφορεῖν, ἐὰν ἃ ἔχρησαν ἡμῖν πρὸς ὀλίγον, ταῦτ' ἀπαιτῶσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ τραπεζῖται, καθάπερ εἰώθαμεν λέγειν πολλάκις, ἀπαιτούμενοι τὰ θέματα δυσχεραίνουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποδόσει, ἐάνπερ εὐγνωμονῶσι. πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς οὐκ εὐμαρῶς ἀπο-
B διδόντας εἰκότως ἄν τις εἴποι "ἐπελάθου ὅτι ταῦτ' ἔλαβες ἐπὶ τῷ ἀποδοῦναι;" τοῦτο δὴ τοῖς θνητοῖς ἅπασι συμβέβηκεν. ἔχομεν γὰρ τὸ ζῆν ὥσπερ παρακαταθεμένοις θεοῖς ἐξ ἀνάγκης,[1] καὶ τούτου χρόνος οὐδείς ἐστιν ὡρισμένος τῆς ἀποδόσεως,

[1] ἀνάγκης] ἀνάγκης ἀποδώσοντες Wyttenbach.

[a] Adapted from the *Phoenissae*, 555. [b] *Ibid.* 556.
[c] *Cf.* Cebes, *Tabula*, xxxi., and Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, i. 39 (93).

28. We ought not, therefore, to lament those who die young on the ground that they have been deprived of those things which in a long life are accounted good; for this is uncertain, as we have often said—whether the things of which they have been deprived are good or evil; for the evils are much the more numerous. And whereas we acquire the good things only with difficulty and at the expense of many anxieties, the evils we acquire very easily For they say that the latter are compact and conjoined, and are brought together by many influences, while the good things are disjoined, and hardly manage to unite towards the very end of life. We therefore resemble men who have forgotten, not merely, as Euripides[a] says, that

> Mortals are not the owners of their wealth,

but also that they do not own a single one of human possessions. Wherefore we must say in regard to all things that

> We keep and care for that which is the gods',
> And when they will they take it back again.[b]

We ought not, therefore, to bear it with bad grace if the gods make demand upon us for what they have loaned us for a short time.[c] For even the bankers, as we are in the habit of saying frequently, when demand is made upon them for the return of deposits, do not chafe at the repayment, if they be honourable men. To those who do not make repayment with good grace one might fairly say, "Have you forgotten that you accepted this on condition that you should return it?" Quite parallel is the lot of all mortals. For we hold our life, as it were, on deposit from the gods, who have compelled us to accept the account, and there is no fixed time for

(116) ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τοῖς τραπεζίταις τῆς τῶν θεμάτων, ἀλλ' ἄδηλον πόθ' ὁ δοὺς ἀπαιτήσει. ὁ οὖν ἢ αὐτὸς μέλλων ἀποθνῄσκειν ἢ τέκνων ἀποθανόντων ὑπεραγανακτῶν πῶς οὐ καταφανῶς ἐπιλέλησται ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπός ἐστι καὶ τὰ τέκνα θνητὰ ἐγέννησεν; οὐ γάρ ἐστι φρένας ἔχοντος ἀνθρώπου ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος ζῷόν ἐστι θνητόν, οὐδ' ὅτι γέγονεν εἰς
C τὸ ἀποθανεῖν. εἰ γοῦν ἡ Νιόβη κατὰ τοὺς μύθους πρόχειρον εἶχε τὴν ὑπόληψιν ταύτην ὅτι καὶ ἡ

θαλέθοντι βίῳ
βλάσταις τε τέκνων βριθομένα γλυκερὸν
φάος ὁρῶσα

τελευτήσει, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἐδυσχέραινεν ὡς καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἐθέλειν ἐκλιπεῖν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ἀνάρπαστον αὐτὴν γενέσθαι πρὸς ἀπώλειαν τὴν χαλεπωτάτην.

Δύ' ἐστὶ τῶν Δελφικῶν γραμμάτων τὰ μάλιστ' ἀναγκαιότατα πρὸς τὸν βίον, τὸ "γνῶθι σαυτὸν"
D καὶ τὸ "μηδὲν ἄγαν"· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἤρτηται καὶ τἄλλα πάντα. ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν ἀλλήλοις συνῳδὰ καὶ σύμφωνα, καὶ διὰ θατέρου θάτερον ἔοικε δηλοῦσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν. ἔν τε γὰρ τῷ γιγνώσκειν ἑαυτὸν περιέχεται τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ γιγνώσκειν ἑαυτόν. διὸ καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτου φησὶν ὁ Ἴων οὕτως·

τὸ "γνῶθι σαυτὸν" τοῦτ' ἔπος μὲν οὐ μέγα,
ἔργον δ' ὅσον Ζεὺς μόνος ἐπίσταται θεῶν,

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[a] From an unknown poet; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, No. 373, and Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 720.

[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Protagoras*, p. 343 B, and *Charmides*, p. 165 A;

its return, just as with the bankers and their deposits, but it is uncertain when the depositor will demand payment. If a man, therefore, is exceedingly indignant, either when he himself is about to die, or when his children have died, must he not manifestly have forgotten that he is but human and the father of children who are mortal? For it is not characteristic of a man of sense to be unaware of the fact that man is a mortal creature, and that he is born to die. At any rate, if Niobe of the fable had had this conception ready at hand, that even the woman who,

> Laden with the happy burden
> Of sweet life and growing children,
> Looks upon the pleasant sunlight,[a]

must die, she would not have been so resentful as to wish to abandon life on account of the magnitude of her misfortune, and to implore the gods that she herself might be hurried to the most awful perdition.

There are two of the inscriptions at Delphi [b] which are most indispensable to living. These are: "Know thyself" and "Avoid extremes," for on these two commandments hang all the rest. These two are in harmony and agreement with each other, and the one seems to be made as clear as possible through the other. For in self-knowledge is included the avoidance of extremes, and in the latter is included self-knowledge. Therefore Ion [c] speaks of the former as follows:

> Not much to say is "Know thyself"; to do
> This, Zeus alone of gods doth understand.

Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 12, 14; Pausanias, x. 24, 1; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 167 B, 385 D, and 511 B, and *De vita et poesi Homeri*. 151.

[c] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 743, Ion, No. 55.

(116) ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος·

"σοφοὶ δέ," φησί, "καὶ τὸ 'μηδὲν ἄγαν' ἔπος αἴνεσσαν περισσῶς."

29. Ταῦτ' οὖν ἐν διανοίᾳ τις ἔχων ὡς πυθό-
E χρηστα παραγγέλματα πρὸς πάντα τὰ τοῦ βίου πράγματα ῥᾳδίως ἐφαρμόζειν δυνήσεται καὶ φέρειν αὐτὰ δεξιῶς, εἴς τε τὴν αὑτοῦ φύσιν ἀφορῶν καὶ εἰς τὸ μὴ πέρα τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐν τοῖς προσπίπτουσιν ἢ διαίρεσθαι πρὸς ἀλαζονείαν ἢ ταπεινοῦσθαι καὶ καταπίπτειν πρὸς οἴκτους καὶ ὀλοφυρμοὺς διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὸν ἐμφυόμενον ἡμῖν τοῦ θανάτου φόβον παρὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῶν εἰωθότων ἐν τῷ βίῳ συμβαίνειν κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀνάγκης ἢ πεπρωμένης μοῖραν. καλῶς δ' οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι παρεκελεύσαντο λέγοντες·

ὅσσα δὲ δαιμονίῃσι τύχαις βροτοὶ ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν,
F ἣν ἂν μοῖραν ἔχῃς, ταύτην ἔχε μηδ' ἀγανάκτει,

καὶ ὁ τραγικὸς Αἰσχύλος·

ἀνδρῶν γάρ ἐστιν ἐνδίκων τε καὶ σοφῶν
κἀν τοῖσι δεινοῖς[1] μὴ τεθυμῶσθαι θεοῖς,

καὶ ὁ Εὐριπίδης·

ὅστις δ' ἀνάγκῃ συγκεχώρηκεν βροτῶν
σοφὸς παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ θεῖ' ἐπίσταται,

καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις·

[1] κἀν τοῖσι δεινοῖς Stobaeus, *Flor.* cviii. 43: ἐν τοῖς κακοῖσι or ἐν τοῖς κακίστοις.

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[a] *Frag.* 216 (Christ). [b] *Carmina Aurea*, 17.
[c] Attributed to Euripides by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, cviii. 43; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 1078.

And, of the other, Pindar [a] says:

The wise have lauded with exceeding praise the words
"Avoid extremes."

29. If, then, one keeps these in mind as god-given injunctions, he will be able easily to adapt them to all the circumstances of life, and to bear with such circumstances intelligently, by being heedful of his own nature, and heedful, in whatever may befall him, not to go beyond the limit of propriety, either in being elated to boastfulness or in being humbled and cast down to wailings and lamentations, through weakness of the spirit and the fear of death which is implanted in us as a result of our ignorance of what is wont to happen in life in accordance with the decree of necessity or destiny. Excellent is the advice which the Pythagoreans [b] gave, saying:

Whatsoe'er woes by the gods' dispensation all mortals must suffer,
What be the fate you must bear, you should bear it and not be indignant.

And the tragic poet Aeschylus [c] says:

It is the mark of just and knowing men
In woes to feel no anger at the gods;

and Euripides [d]:

Of mortals he who yields to fate we think
Is wise and knows the ways of Providence;

and in another place [e] he says:

[d] From an unknown play: *cf.* Nauck, *ibid.*, Euripides, No. 965.

[e] From the *Melanippe*; *cf.* Nauck, *ibid.*, Euripides, No. 505.

τὰ προσπεσόντα δ' ὅστις εὖ φέρει βροτῶν,
117 ἄριστος εἶναι σωφρονεῖν τέ μοι δοκεῖ.

30. Οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ πάντα καταμέμφονται καὶ πάντα τὰ παρὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας αὐτοῖς συμβεβηκότα ἐξ ἐπηρείας τύχης καὶ δαιμόνων γενέσθαι[1] νομίζουσι. διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὀδύρονται, στένοντες καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀτυχίαν αἰτιώμενοι. πρὸς οὓς ὑποτυχὼν ἄν τις εἴποι·

θεὸς δέ σοι πῆμ' οὐδὲν ἀλλ' αὐτὸς[2] σὺ σοί,

καὶ ἡ διὰ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν ἄνοια καὶ παραφροσύνη. διὰ ταύτην γοῦν τὴν διηπατημένην καὶ ψευδῆ δόξαν πάντα καταμέμφονται θάνατον. ἐὰν μὲν
B γὰρ ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ τις ὢν ἀποθάνῃ, στένουσιν ἐπιλέγοντες·

δύσμορος, οὐδ' ἄρα τῷ γε[3] πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
ὄσσε καθαιρήσουσιν·

ἐὰν δ' ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας πατρίδος παρόντων τῶν γονέων, ὀδύρονται ὡς ἐξαρπασθέντος ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τὴν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὀδύνην αὐτοῖς ἀφέντος. ἐὰν δ' ἄφωνος μηδὲν προσειπὼν περὶ μηδενός, κλαίοντες λέγουσιν·

οὐδέ τί μοι εἶπας πυκινὸν ἔπος, οὗ τέ κεν αἰεὶ
C μεμνῄμην.

ἐὰν προσομιλήσας τι, τοῦτ' ἀεὶ πρόχειρον ἔχουσιν ὥσπερ ὑπέκκαυμα τῆς λύπης. ἐὰν ταχέως, ὀδύρονται λέγοντες "ἀνηρπάσθη." ἐὰν μακρῶς, μέμ-

[1] γενέσθαι Hercher: γίνεσθαι.
[2] αὐτὸς Soph. *Oed. Rex*, 379: αὐτῷ.
[3] δύσμορος, οὐδ' ἄρα τῷ γε] ἆ δεῖλ', οὐ μέν σοί γε the mss. of Homer.

Of mortals he who bears his lot aright
To me seems noblest and of soundest sense.

30. Most people grumble about everything, and have a feeling that everything which happens to them contrary to their expectations is brought about through the spite of Fortune and the divine powers. Therefore they wail at everything, and groan, and curse their luck. To them one might say in retort:

God is no bane to you; 'tis you yourself,[a]

you and your foolish and distorted notions due to your lack of education. It is because of this fallacious and deluded notion that men cry out against any sort of death. If a man die while on a journey, they groan over him and say:

Wretched his fate; not for him shall his father or much revered mother
Close his dear eyelids in death.[b]

But if he die in his own land with his parents at his bedside, they deplore his being snatched from their arms and leaving them the memory of the painful sight. If he die in silence without uttering a word about anything, they say amid their tears:

No, not a word did you say to me, which for the weight of its meaning
Ever might dwell in my mind.[c]

But if he talked a little at the time of his death, they keep his words always before their mind as a sort of kindling for their grief. If he die suddenly, they deplore his death, saying, "He was snatched away";

[a] Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 379.
[b] Homer, *Il.* xi. 452. [c] Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 744.

(117) φονται ὅτι καταφθινήσας καὶ τιμωρηθεὶς[1] ἀπέθανε. πᾶσα πρόφασις ἱκανὴ πρὸς τὸ τὰς λύπας καὶ τοὺς θρήνους συνεγείρειν. ταῦτα δ' ἐκίνησαν οἱ ποιηταί, καὶ μάλιστα τούτων ὁ πρῶτος Ὅμηρος λέγων·

ὡς δὲ πατὴρ οὗ παιδὸς ὀδύρεται ὀστέα καίων,
νυμφίου, ὅς τε θανὼν δειλοὺς ἀκάχησε τοκῆας.
ἄρρητον[2] δὲ τοκεῦσι γόον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκε,

D καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὔπω δῆλον εἰ δικαίως ὀδύρεται, ἀλλ' ὅρα τὸ ἑξῆς·

μοῦνος τηλύγετος πολλοῖσιν ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσι.

(31) τίς γὰρ οἶδεν, εἰ ὁ θεὸς πατρικῶς[3] κηδόμενος τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους καὶ προορώμενος τὰ μέλλοντα συμβήσεσθαι προεξάγει τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἀώρους; ὅθεν οὐδὲν φευκτὸν νομιστέον αὐτοὺς πάσχειν

(δεινὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν[4] τῶν ἀναγκαίων βροτοῖς

οὔτε τῶν κατὰ προηγούμενον λόγον συμβαινόντων E οὔτε τῶν κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν), καὶ ὅτι οἱ πλεῖστοι θάνατοι πρὸ ἄλλων δυσχερῶν μειζόνων γίγνονται, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς μὲν οὐδὲ γενέσθαι συνέφερε, τοῖς δ' ἅμα τῷ γενέσθαι ἀποθανεῖν, τοῖς δὲ προελθοῦσιν ἐπὶ μικρόν, τοῖς δ' ἀκμάζουσι. πρὸς πάντας δὴ τούτους τοὺς θανάτους ἐλαφρῶς ἑκτέον, εἰδότας

[1] τιμωρηθεὶς] ταλαιπωρηθεὶς ? Bernardakis: καταμαρανθεὶς Michael and Kronenberg.

[2] ἄρητον "*exsecrabilem*" is an ancient variant reading, which is kept by several editors of Homer. See *Papyr. Hib.* p. 73.

[3] πατρικῶς] πατρικῶς προεστὼς (for προειδὼς of several MSS.) Paton.

[4] δεινὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν Clemens, *Strom.* iv. p. 587, and *supra*, 111A (Nauck, p. 596): οὐδὲν γὰρ δεινὸν.

but if he lingered long, they complain that he wasted away and suffered before he died. Any pretext is sufficient to arouse grief and lamentations. This movement the poets initiated, and especially the first of them, Homer,[a] who says:

E'en as a father laments as the pyre of his dead son he kindles,
Wedded not long; by his death he brought woe to his unhappy parents.
Not to be told is the mourning and grief that he caused for his parents.

And yet so far it is not evident that the father is justified in bewailing thus. But note this next line:

Only and darlingest son, who is heir to his many possessions.[b]

(31) For who knows but that God, having a fatherly care for the human race, and foreseeing future events, early removes some persons from life untimely? Wherefore we must believe that they undergo nothing that should be avoided. (For

In what must be, there's naught that men need dread,[c]

nor in any of those events which come to pass in accordance with the postulates or the logical deductions of reason), both because the great majority of deaths forestall other and greater troubles and because it were better for some not to be born even, for others to die at the very moment of birth, for others after they have gone on in life a little way, and for still others while they are in their full vigour. Toward all such deaths we should maintain a cheerful frame of mind, since we know that we cannot escape

[a] *Il.* xxiii. 222, and xvii. 37.
[b] *Il.* ix. 482.
[c] From the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides, quoted *supra*, 110 F.

ὅτι τὴν μοῖραν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκφυγεῖν (πεπαιδευμένων δ' ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων προσειληφέναι[1] ὅτι βραχὺν χρόνον προειλήφασιν ἡμᾶς οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄωροι τοῦ ζῆν ἐστερῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μακρότατος βίος ὀλίγος ἐστὶ καὶ στιγμαῖος πρὸς τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα)
F καὶ ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπὶ πλέον πενθησάντων μετ' οὐ πολὺ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατοδυρθεῖσιν ἐπηκολούθησαν, οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ πένθους ὄφελος περιποιησάμενοι, μάτην δ' ἑαυτοὺς καταικισάμενοι ταῖς κακουχίαις.

Βραχυτάτου δὲ τοῦ τῆς ἐπιδημίας ὄντος ἐν τῷ βίῳ χρόνου, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς αὐχμηραῖς λύπαις οὐδ' ἐν τῷ κακοδαιμονεστάτῳ πένθει διαφθείρειν ἑαυτοὺς δεῖ ταῖς ὀδύναις καὶ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος αἰκίαις παρατεινομένους, ἀλλὰ μεταβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ ἀνθρωπικώτερον, πειρωμένους καὶ σπουδάζοντας ἐντυγχάνειν ἀνδράσι μὴ τοῖς συλλυπουμένοις καὶ διεγείρουσι τὰ πένθη διὰ
118 κολακείαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀφαιρουμένοις τὰς λύπας διὰ τῆς γενναίας καὶ σεμνῆς παρηγορίας, ἐπακούοντας καὶ ἔχοντας ἐν νῷ τὸ Ὁμηρικὸν τοῦτ' ἔπος, ὅπερ ὁ Ἕκτωρ πρὸς τὴν Ἀνδρομάχην ἀντιπαρηγορῶν αὐτὴν εἶπεν ὡδί·

δαιμονίη, μή μοί τι λίην ἀκαχίζεο θυμῷ·
οὐ γάρ τίς μ' ὑπὲρ αἶσαν ἀνὴρ Ἄιδι προϊάψει,
μοῖραν δ' οὔ τινά φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν,
οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ἐπὴν τὰ πρῶτα γένηται.

ταύτην δὲ τὴν μοῖραν ἐν ἄλλοις ὁ ποιητής φησι·

B γεινομένῳ ἐπένησε λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ.

[1] προσειληφέναι F.C.B.: προειληφέναι.

destiny. It is the mark of educated men to take it for granted that those who seem to have been deprived of life untimely have but forestalled us for a brief time; for the longest life is short and momentary in comparison with eternity. And we know, too, that many who have protracted their period of mourning have, after no long time, followed their lamented friends, without having gained any advantage from their mourning, but only useless torment by their misery.

Since the time of sojourn in life is very brief, we ought not, in unkempt grief and utterly wretched mourning, to ruin our lives by racking ourselves with mental anguish and bodily torments, but to turn to the better and more human course, by striving earnestly to converse with men who will not, for flattery, grieve with us and arouse our sorrows, but will endeavour to dispel our griefs through noble and dignified consolation. We should hearken to Homer and keep in mind those lines of his [a] which Hector spoke to Andromache, endeavouring, in his turn, to comfort her:

> Dearest, you seem much excited; be not overtroubled in spirit;
> No man beyond what is fated shall send me in death unto Hades.
> For not a man among mortals, I say, has escaped what is destined,
> Neither the base nor the noble, when once he has entered life's pathway.

Of this destiny the poet elsewhere [b] says:

> When from his mother he came, in the thread of his life Fate entwined it.

[a] *Il.* vi. 486.

[b] Homer, *Il.* xx. 128.

(118) 32. Ταῦτα πρὸ διανοίας λαβόντες τῆς ἀπράκτου καὶ κενῆς ἀπαλλαγησόμεθα βαρυπενθείας, ὀλίγου δὴ παντάπασι τοῦ μεταξὺ χρόνου τῆς ζωῆς ὄντος. φειστέον οὖν, ὅπως εὔθυμόν τε καὶ ἀπαρενόχλητον τοῦτον ταῖς πενθικαῖς λύπαις διαγάγωμεν, τὰ τοῦ πένθους παράσημα μεθέμενοι καὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμελείας φροντίσαντες καὶ τῆς τῶν συμβιούντων ἡμῖν σωτηρίας. καλὸν δὲ καὶ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν λόγων, οἷς κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐχρησάμεθά ποτε πρὸς συγγενεῖς ἢ φίλους ἐν ταῖς παραπλησίοις γενο-
C μένους συμφοραῖς, παραμυθούμενοι καὶ πείθοντες τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ βίου συμπτώματα κοινῶς φέρειν καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἀνθρωπίνως, καὶ μὴ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐπαρκεῖν πρὸς ἀλυπίαν δύνασθαι, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ μηδὲν ὄφελος εἶναι τὴν τούτων ὑπόμνησιν, δι' ὧν δεῖ τὸ ἀλγοῦν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποθεραπεύειν "παιωνίοις λόγου φαρμάκοις," ὡς πάντων μᾶλλον ἢ ἀλυπίας ἀναβολὴν δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι. καίτοι γε τὸν ἐν ὁτῳοῦν "ἀμβολιεργὸν ἄταις," φησί, "παλαίειν," τὸ κυκλούμενον τοῦτο παρὰ πᾶσιν
D ἔπος· πολὺ δ' οἶμαι μᾶλλον τὸν ὑπερτιθέμενον τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀχθεινὰ πάθη καὶ δυσάντητα πρὸς τὸν ἐπιόντα χρόνον.

33. Ἀποβλέπειν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς εὐγενῶς καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς γενομένους θανάτους καὶ[1] πράως ὑποστάντας, Ἀναξαγόραν τὸν Κλαζομένιον καὶ Δημοσθένην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Δίωνα τὸν Συρακόσιον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα

[1] *θανάτους καὶ* Wyttenbach: *θανάτους*.

[a] *Cf.* Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, iii. 29-30 (71-74).

32. Keeping these things before our mind, we shall rid ourselves of the useless and vain extremes of mourning, since the time remaining of our life is altogether short. We must therefore be chary of it, so that we may live it in cheerfulness of spirit and without the disturbance of mournful griefs, by giving up the outward signs of sorrow and by bethinking ourselves of the care of our bodies and the welfare of those who live with us. It is a good thing also to call to mind the arguments which most likely we have sometimes employed with relatives or friends[a] who found themselves in similar calamities, when we tried to comfort them and to persuade them to bear the usual happenings of life in the usual way and a man's lot like a man; and it is a good thing, too, not to put ourselves in the position of being able to help others to find relief from grief, but ourselves to have no profit in recalling the means through which we must cure the soul's distress—"by healing remedies of reason"[b]—since we should postpone anything else rather than the putting aside of grief. And yet one poet[c] says that the man who in any matter "puts off till to-morrow" is "wrestling with destruction"—a proverb which is repeated among all men. Much more, I think, is this true of the man who puts over to a future time the experiences which his soul finds so troublesome and so hard to face.

33. It is a good thing, too, to contemplate those men who nobly and high-mindedly and calmly have been resigned to the deaths which have befallen their sons—Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, Demosthenes of Athens, Dion of Syracuse, King Antigonus, and very

[b] *Cf.* Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 848.
[c] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 414.

(118) Ἀντίγονον, καὶ συχνοὺς ἄλλους τῶν τε παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς.

Τούτων γὰρ Ἀναξαγόραν παρειλήφαμεν, ὥς φασι, φυσιολογοῦντα καὶ διαλεγόμενον τοῖς γνωρίμοις, ἀκούσαντα παρά τινος τῶν ἀναγγειλάντων αὐτῷ τὴν περὶ τὸν υἱὸν τελευτήν, μικρὸν ἐπισχόντα
E πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἰπεῖν "ᾔδειν ὅτι θνητὸν ἐγέννησα υἱόν."

Περικλέα δὲ τὸν Ὀλύμπιον προσαγορευθέντα διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑπερβεβλημένην δύναμιν, πυθόμενον ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱοὺς μετηλλαχέναι τὸν βίον, Πάραλόν τε καὶ Ξάνθιππον, ὥς φησι Πρωταγόρας, εἰπὼν[1] οὕτως· "τῶν γὰρ υἱέων νεηνιέων[2] ἐόντων[3] καὶ καλῶν, ἐν ὀκτὼ δὲ τῇσι[4] πάσῃσιν ἡμέρῃσι ἀποθανόντων νηπενθέως ἀνέτλη· εὐδίης γὰρ εἴχετο, ἐξ ἧς πολλὸν ὤνητο κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην εἰς εὐποτμίην καὶ ἀνωδυνίην καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖσι[5] πολλοῖσι δόξαν·
F πᾶς γάρ τίς μιν ὁρέων[6] τὰ ἑωυτοῦ[7] πένθεα ἐρρωμένως φέροντα, μεγαλόφρονά τε καὶ ἀνδρήιον ἐδόκεε[8] εἶναι καὶ ἑωυτοῦ κρέσσω,[9] κάρτα εἰδὼς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ[7] ἐν τοισίδε πρήγμασι[10] ἀμηχανίην· τοῦτον γὰρ εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν προσαγγελίαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν υἱέων οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐστεφανωμένον κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος καὶ λευχειμονοῦντα δημηγορεῖν

[1] εἰπὼν] a very early correction: εἰπεῖν.

[2] The following corrections by Bernardakis (B), Hatzidakis (Ha) and Hercher (H) are merely restorations of the regular Ionic forms: νεηνιέων H: νεηνιῶν. [3] ἐόντων B: ὄντων.

[4] τῇσι H: ταῖς. [5] τοῖσι H: τοῖς. [6] ὁρέων H: ὁρῶν.

[7] ἑωυτοῦ B: ἑαυτοῦ. [8] ἀνδρήιον ἐδόκεε H: ἀνδρεῖον ἐδόκει.

[9] κρέσσω B: κρείσσω.

[10] τοισίδε πρήγμασι Ha: τοιοῖσδε πράγμασι.

many others among men both of earlier times and of our own day.

Of these, Anaxagoras,[a] according to the traditional story, was talking about natural philosophy in conversation with his friends, when he heard from one of the messengers, who were sent to bring him the news, of the end which had befallen his son. He stopped for a moment and then said to those present, "I knew that I had begotten a son who was mortal."

Pericles,[b] who was called "the Olympian" because of his surpassing power of reasoning and of understanding, learned that both his sons, Paralus and Xanthippus, had passed from life. Protagoras describes his conduct in these words: "His sons were comely youths, but though they died within seven days of each other, he bore their deaths without repining. For he continued to hold to that serenity from which day by day he added greatly to his credit of being blest by Fortune and untroubled by sorrow, and to his high repute with the people at large. For each and every man, as he beheld Pericles bearing his sorrows so stoutly, felt that he was high-minded and manful and his own superior, being only too well aware of what would be his own helplessness under such circumstances. For Pericles, immediately after the tidings about his two sons, none the less placed the garland upon his head, according to the time-honoured custom at Athens, and, clad in garb of white, harangued the people,

[a] *Cf.* Aelian, *Varia Historia*, iii. 2; Galen, v. p. 418 (ed. Kuhn): Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, iii. 14 (30) and 24 (58); Valerius Maximus, v 10. ext. 3.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Life of Pericles*, chap. xxxvi. (p. 172 c); Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ix. 6; Valerius Maximus, v. 10, ext. 1.

'βουλάς τ' ἐξάρχοντ' ἀγαθὰς' πρός τε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιπαρορμῶντα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους."[a]

Ξενοφῶντα δὲ τὸν Σωκρατικὸν θύοντά ποτε, παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου πυθόμενον ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Γρύλλος ἀγωνιζόμενος
119 ἐτελεύτησε, περιελόμενον τὸν στέφανον ἐξετάζειν τίνα τρόπον ἐτελεύτησε. τῶν δὲ ἀπαγγειλάντων ὅτι γενναίως ἀριστεύων καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων κατακτείνας, μικρὸν παντελῶς διασιωπήσαντα[1] χρόνον καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ τὸ πάθος παρακατασχόντα, ἐπιθέμενον πάλιν τὸν στέφανον ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν θυσίαν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους εἰπεῖν ὅτι "θεοῖς ηὐξάμην οὐκ ἀθάνατον οὐδὲ πολυχρόνιον γενέσθαι μοι τὸν υἱόν (τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἄδηλον εἰ[2] συμφέρει), ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ φιλόπατριν, ὃ δὴ καὶ γέγονεν."[b]

B Δίωνα δὲ τὸν Συρακόσιον συνεδρεύοντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων, κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν θορύβου γενομένου καὶ μεγάλης κραυγῆς, πυθόμενον τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἀκούσαντα ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καταπεσὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ στέγους ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδὲν ἐκπλαγέντα τὸ μὲν σωμάτιον κελεῦσαι τοῦ μεταλλάξαντος ταῖς γυναιξὶ παραδοῦναι πρὸς τὴν νόμιμον ταφήν, αὐτὸν δὲ περὶ ὧν διεσκέπτετο μὴ παραλιπεῖν.

Τοῦτον ζηλῶσαι λέγεται καὶ Δημοσθένην τὸν ῥήτορα, τὴν μόνην καὶ ἀγαπητὴν ἀπολέσαντα θυγατέρα, περὶ ἧς φησιν Αἰσχίνης, κατηγορεῖν

[1] διασιωπήσαντα Bernardakis: διαστήσαντα.
[2] εἰ Hercher: ὅτι.

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[a] Adapted from Homer, *Il.* ii. 273.
[b] *Cf.* Aelian, *Varia Historia*, iii. 3; Diogenes Laertius, ii. 54; Valerius Maximus, v. 10, ext. 2.

'taking lead in good counsel,'[a] and inspiriting the Athenians to war."

Xenophon,[b] the follower of Socrates, was once offering sacrifice when he learned from the messengers who had come from the field of battle that his son Gryllus had met his death while fighting. He took the garland from his head and questioned them as to how he had died. When the messengers reported that he died nobly, displaying the greatest valour and after slaying many of the enemy, Xenophon was completely silent for a few moments while mastering his emotion by the power of reason, and then, replacing the garland, he completed the sacrifice, remarking to the messengers, "I prayed to the gods, not that my son should be immortal or even long of life (for it is not clear whether it be of advantage so), but that he should be brave and patriotic; and so it has come to pass."

Dion[c] of Syracuse was sitting in consultation with his friends, when there arose in the house a commotion and a great screaming, and upon inquiring the cause and hearing what had happened—that his son had fallen from the roof and been killed—he was not at all disconcerted, but commanded the corpse to be given over to the women for the usual preparation for burial, and he himself did not leave off the discussion in which he was engaged.

His example, they say, Demosthenes[d] the orator emulated when he lost his only and much-loved daughter, of whom Aeschines,[e] thinking to reproach

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Life of Dion*, chap. lv. (p. 982 c): Aelian, *Varia Historia*, iii. 4.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Life of Demosthenes*, chap. xxii. (p. 855 D), and Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, iii. 26 (63).

[e] Or. iii. (*Against Ctesiphon*) 77 (p. 64).

(119) C αὐτοῦ δόξας, ταυτί· "ἑβδόμην δ' ἡμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ τετελευτηκυίας, πρὶν πενθῆσαι καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι, στεφανωσάμενος καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀναλαβὼν ἐβουθύτει καὶ παρενόμει,[1] τὴν μόνην ὁ δείλαιος καὶ πρώτην αὐτὸν πατέρα προσειποῦσαν ἀπολέσας." οὗτος μὲν οὖν ῥητορικῶς προθέμενος αὐτοῦ κατηγορῆσαι ταῦτα διεξῆλθεν, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι διὰ τούτων αὐτὸν ἐπαινεῖ τὸ πενθεῖν παρωσάμενον καὶ τὸ φιλόπατρι πρὸ τῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων συμπαθείας ἐπιδειξάμενον.

Ἀντίγονον δὲ τὸν βασιλέα πυθόμενον τὴν Ἀλκυονέως τοῦ υἱοῦ τελευτὴν ἐν παρατάξει γενομένην μεγαλοφρόνως τε πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαγγείλαντας αὐτῷ τὴν συμφορὰν ἀπιδεῖν καὶ μικρὸν ἐπισχόντα καὶ κατηφιάσαντα προσειπεῖν "ὦ
D Ἀλκυονεῦ, ὀψίτερον μετήλλαξας τὸν βίον, οὕτως ἀφειδῶς ἐξορμῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ οὔτε τῆς σαυτοῦ[2] σωτηρίας οὔτε τῶν ἐμῶν παραινέσεων φροντίζων."

Τούτους δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας θαυμάζουσι μὲν τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης πάντες καὶ ἄγανται, μιμεῖσθαι δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων οὐ δύνανται διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας ἀσθένειαν τῆς ψυχῆς. πλὴν πολλῶν ὄντων παραδειγμάτων τῶν διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἡμῖν παραδιδομένων τῆς τε Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς τῶν γενναίως καὶ καλῶς ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀναγκαίων τελευταῖς διαγενομένων ἀποχρήσει τὰ εἰρημένα πρὸς τὴν ἀπόθεσιν τοῦ πάντων[3] ἀνιαροτάτου

[1] παρενόμει Aeschines, *Adv. Ctesiph.* 77 (p. 64): παρηνόμει.
[2] σαυτοῦ F.C.B.: σεαυτοῦ or ἑαυτοῦ.
[3] πάντων Reiske: παντὸς.

Demosthenes, speaks as follows: "On the seventh day after his daughter's death, before he had mourned for her or performed the customary rites, putting on a garland and resuming his white apparel, he offered a sacrifice in public and violated all custom, when he had lost, poor wretch, his only daughter, who was the first child to address him as father." So then Aeschines, purposing, after the manner of the political speaker, to reproach him, rehearsed these facts, being quite unaware that thereby he was really commending Demosthenes, who put aside his grief, and displayed his patriotism in preference to his feelings for his kindred.

Antigonus[a] the king, on learning of the death of his son Alcyoneus, which had occurred in the line of battle, gazed proudly upon the messengers who had brought news of the calamity, and, after waiting for a moment, said, bowing his head, "Not so very early, Alcyoneus, have you departed this life, since you always rushed so recklessly against the enemy without a thought either of your own safety or of my counsels."

The whole world wonders at these men and admires them for their nobility of mind, but others have not the ability to imitate them in practice because of that weakness of spirit which results from lack of education. But although there are so many examples, which have been handed down to us through both Greek and Roman history, of men who have behaved nobly and honourably at the deaths of their relatives, yet what has been said will suffice to induce you to put aside mourning, which is the most distressing of all things, and also the fruit-

[a] Antigonus Gonatas; *cf.* Aelian, *Varia Historia*, iii. 5.

E πένθους καὶ τῆς ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς οὐδὲν χρήσιμον
(119) ματαιοπονίας.

34. Ὅτι γὰρ οἱ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς διενεγκόντες ὡς θεοφιλεῖς νέοι μετέστησαν πρὸς τὸ χρεὼν καὶ πάλαι μὲν διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν ὑπέμνησα λόγων,[a] καὶ νῦν δὲ πειράσομαι διὰ βραχυτάτων ἐπιδραμεῖν, προσμαρτυρήσας τῷ καλῶς ὑπὸ Μενάνδρου ῥηθέντι τούτῳ·

ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος.[b]

ἀλλ' ἴσως ὑποτυχὼν ἂν φαίης, Ἀπολλώνιε φίλτατε, σφόδρ' ἦν ἐπιτεταγμένος ὁ νεανίσκος Ἀπόλλωνι
F καὶ Μοίραις,[1] καὶ σὲ ἔδει ὑπ' ἐκείνου τελείου γενομένου κηδευθῆναι μεταλλάξαντα τὸν βίον· τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν. τὴν ἡμετέραν δηλονότι καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων πρόνοιαν καὶ τὴν κοσμικὴν διάταξιν. ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῷ μακαρισθέντι οὐκ ἦν κατὰ φύσιν περαιτέρω τοῦ ἀπονεμηθέντος αὐτῷ χρόνου πρὸς τὸν ἐνθάδε βίον περιμένειν, ἀλλ' εὐτάκτως τοῦτον ἐκπλήσαντι πρὸς τὴν εἱμαρμένην ἐπανάγειν πορείαν, καλούσης αὐτῆς, φησίν, ἤδη πρὸς ἑαυτήν. "ἀλλ' ἄωρος[2] ἐτελεύτησεν." οὐκοῦν εὐποτμότερος διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κακῶν ἀπείρατός ἐστιν· ὁ

[1] ἐπιτεταγμένος Bernardakis: ἐπιγεγευμένος . . . Ἀπολλώνιος εὐμοιρίας Paton: ἐπιτετευγμένος (or ἐπιτετευμένος) . . . ἀπολλώνιος ἐν μοίραις most MSS.

[2] ἄωρος Duebner and one MS.: ἀώρως.

[a] 111 B *supra*.

[b] From the *Double Deceiver*; *cf.* Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 36, Menander, No. 125, and Allinson's *Menander* (L.C.L.), p. 345. The sentiment is found many times in other writers; *cf.* Plautus, *Bacch.* iv. 7. 18 "quem di diligunt adulescens moritur."

less pain, which serves no useful purpose, involved in mourning.

34. The fact that those who excel in virtues pass on to their fate while young, as though beloved of the gods, I have already called to your attention in an earlier part [a] of my letter, and I shall endeavour at this time to touch upon it very briefly, merely adding my testimony to that which has been so well said by Menander [b]:

> Whom the gods love dies young.

But perhaps, my dearest Apollonius, you would say in retort that your young son had been placed under the special care of Apollo and the Fates, and that it should have been you who, on departing this life, received the last offices from him, after he had come to full manhood; for this, you say, is in accordance with nature. Yes, in accordance with your nature, no doubt, and mine, and that of mankind in general, but not in accordance with the Providence which presides over all or with the universal dispensation. But for that boy, now among the blessed, it was not in accordance with nature that he should tarry beyond the time allotted to him for life on this earth, but that, after fulfilling this term with due obedience, he should set forth to meet his fate, which was already (to use his own words [c]) summoning him to himself. "But he died untimely." Yes, but for this very reason his lot is happier, and he is spared many evils; for Euripides [d] says:

[c] *i.e.* his dying words, "Fate summons me"; *cf.* the dying words of Alcestis, "Charon summons me," Euripides, *Alcestis*, 254, and Plato, *Phaedo*, 115 A.

[d] In an unknown play; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 966.

120 "βίος γάρ," φησὶν Εὐριπίδης, "ὄνομ' ἔχει μόνον[1]
πόνος γεγώς.[2]"

οὗτος δ' ἐπὶ τῆς εὐανθεστάτης ἡλικίας προαπεφοίτησεν ὁλόκληρος ἠίθεος, ζηλωτὸς καὶ περίβλεπτος πᾶσι τοῖς συνήθεσιν αὐτῷ, φιλοπάτωρ γενόμενος καὶ φιλομήτωρ καὶ φιλοίκειος καὶ φιλόφιλος,[3] τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν φιλάνθρωπος, αἰδούμενος μὲν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῶν φίλων ὥσπερ πατέρας, στέργων δὲ τοὺς ὁμήλικας καὶ συνήθεις, τιμητικὸς δὲ τῶν καθηγησαμένων, ξένοις δὲ καὶ ἀστοῖς
B πραότατος, πᾶσι δὲ μείλιχος καὶ φίλος διά τε τὴν ἐξ ὄψεως χάριν καὶ τὴν εὐπροσήγορον φιλανθρωπίαν.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μὲν τῆς τε σῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὴν πρέπουσαν εὐφημίαν ἔχων πρὸς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον προαπεφοίτησε τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου, καθάπερ ἔκ του[4] συμποσίου, πρὶν εἴς τινα παροινίαν ἐκπεσεῖν τὴν τῷ μακρῷ γήρᾳ παρεπομένην. εἰ δ' ὁ τῶν παλαιῶν ποιητῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων λόγος ἐστὶν ἀληθὴς ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἔχειν, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς εὐσεβέσι τῶν μεταλλαξάντων ἔστι τις τιμὴ καὶ προεδρία καθάπερ λέγεται, καὶ χῶρός τις ἀποτεταγ-
C μένος ἐν ᾧ διατρίβουσιν αἱ τούτων ψυχαί, καλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν σε δεῖ περὶ τοῦ μακαρίτου υἱέος σου, ὅτι τούτοις συγκαταριθμηθεὶς συνέσται.

35. Λέγεται δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ μελικοῦ Πινδάρου ταυτὶ περὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐν Ἅιδου·

τοῖσι λάμπει μὲν μένος ἀελίου τὰν ἐνθάδε νύκτα
κάτω,

[1] μόνον added by Sauppe. [2] γεγώς Nauck: ἐγώ σ'.
[3] φιλόφιλος Michael: φιλόσοφος.

Life bears the name of life, being but toil.

But he, in the most blooming period of his years, has departed early, a perfect youth, envied and admired by all who knew him. He was fond of his father and mother and his relatives and friends, or, to put it in a word, he loved his fellow men; he respected the elderly among his friends as fathers, he was affectionate towards his companions and familiar friends, he honoured his teachers, and was most kind toward strangers and citizens, gentle with all and beloved of all, both because of his charm of appearance and because of his affable kindliness.

Ah well, but he, bearing with him the fair and fitting fame of your righteousness and his own conjoined, has departed early to eternity from out this mortal life, as from an evening party, before falling into any such grossness of conduct as is wont to be the concomitant of a long old age. And if the account of the ancient poets and philosophers is true, as it most likely is, and so there is for those of the departed who have been righteous a certain honour and preferment, as is said, and a place set apart in which their souls pass their existence, then you ought to be of good hope for your dear departed son that he will be reckoned among their number and will be with them.

35. These are the words of the melic poet Pindar [a] regarding the righteous in the other world:

> For them doth the strength of the sun shine below,
> While night all the earth doth overstrow.

[a] *Frag.* 129 (ed. Christ); *cf.* also the two lines quoted in *Moralia*, 17 c, and the amplification of these lines which Plutarch gives in *Moralia*, 1130 c.

[4] ἔκ του Bernardakis: ἐκ τοῦ.

(120) φοινικορόδοις τ'[1] ἐν λειμώνεσσι προάστιον[2] αὐτῶν·
καὶ λιβάνῳ σκιαρὸν καὶ χρυσοκάρποισι[3] βεβριθός.[4]
καὶ τοὶ μὲν ἵπποις γυμνασίοις τε,[5] τοὶ δὲ πεσσοῖς,
τοὶ δὲ φορμίγγεσι τέρπονται, παρὰ δέ σφισιν
εὐανθὴς ἅπας τέθαλεν ὄλβος,
ὀδμὰ δ' ἐρατὸν κατὰ χῶρον κίδναται
αἰεὶ θύα[6] μιγνύντων πυρὶ τηλεφανεῖ παντοῖα θεῶν
ἐπὶ βωμοῖς.

D καὶ μικρὸν προελθὼν ἐν ἄλλῳ θρήνῳ περὶ ψυχῆς λέγων φησίν·

ὀλβίᾳ δ' ἅπαντες αἴσᾳ λυσίπονον τελευτάν.
καὶ σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἕπεται θανάτῳ περισθενεῖ,
ζωὸν δ' ἔτι[7] λείπεται αἰῶνος εἴδωλον· τὸ γάρ ἐστι
μόνον[8]
ἐκ θεῶν. εὕδει δὲ πρασσόντων μελέων, ἀτὰρ
εὑδόντεσσιν ἐν πολλοῖς ὀνείροις
δείκνυσι τερπνῶν ἐφέρποισαν[9] χαλεπῶν τε κρίσιν.[10]

36. Ὁ δὲ θεῖος Πλάτων πολλὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς περὶ[11] τῆς ἀθανασίας αὐτῆς εἴρηκεν, οὐκ
E ὀλίγα δ' ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ τῷ Μένωνι καὶ τῷ Γοργίᾳ καὶ σποράδην ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις διαλόγοις. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς διαλόγῳ ῥηθέντα κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπομνηματισάμενός σοι παρέξομαι, ὡς ἐβουλήθης· τάδε δὲ[12] πρὸς τὸ παρὸν καίρια καὶ

[1] τ' added from *Moralia*, 1130 c.
[2] προάστιον G. Hermann: προάστειον.
[3] χρυσέοις καρποῖς Boeckh.
[4] βεβριθός Reiske: βέβριθε. [5] τε Hermann.
[6] θύα Hermann: θύματα.
[7] ζωὸν δ' ἔτι *Life of Romulus*, c. xxviii.: ζῶν δὲ.
[8] ἐστι μόνον *ibid.*: μόνον ἐστί.
[9] ἐφέρποισαν Boeckh: ἐφέρπουσαν.

In meadows of roses their suburbs lie,
Roses all tinged with a crimson dye.
They are shaded by trees that incense bear,
And trees with golden fruit so fair.
Some with horses and sports of might,
Others in music and draughts delight.
Happiness there grows ever apace,
Perfumes are wafted o'er the loved place,
As the incense they strew where the gods' altars are
And the fire that consumes it is seen from afar.

And a little farther on, in another lament for the dead, speaking of the soul, he says [a]:

In happy fate they all [b]
Were freed by death from labour's thrall.
Man's body follows at the beck of death
O'ermastering. Alive is left
The image of the stature that he gained,
Since this alone is from the gods obtained.
It sleeps while limbs move to and fro,
But, while we sleep, in dreams doth show
The choice we cannot disregard
Between the pleasant and the hard.

36. The divine Plato has said a good deal in his treatise *On the Soul* about its immortality, and not a little also in the *Republic* and *Meno* and *Gorgias*, and here and there in his other dialogues. What is said in the dialogue *On the Soul* I will copy, with comments, and send you separately, as you desired. But for the present occasion these words, which were spoken

[a] *Frag.* 131 (ed. Christ); *cf.* also Plutarch, *Life of Romulus*, xxviii. (p. 35 D).
[b] The line is incomplete, lacking a finite verb.

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[10] For the numerous conjectural emendations of this and the preceding quotation *cf* Schroeder's revision of vol. i. of Bergk's *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* p. 442.
[11] *περὶ* Reiske: *περί τε.*
[12] *τάδε δὲ* F.C.B. and Paton: *τὰ δὲ.*

χρήσιμα, τὰ λεχθέντα πρὸς Καλλικλέα[1] τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, ἑταῖρον δὲ καὶ μαθητὴν Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ παρὰ τῷ Πλάτωνι Σωκράτης[2]· “ἄκουε δή,” φασί,[3] “μάλα καλοῦ λόγου, ὃν σὺ μὲν ἡγήσῃ, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, μῦθον, ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον· ὡς ἀληθῆ γὰρ ὄντα σοι λέξω ἃ μέλλω λέγειν. ὥσπερ γὰρ Ὅμηρος λέγει,[4] διενείμαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν καὶ ὁ Πλούτων, ἐπειδὴ
F παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παρέλαβον· ἦν οὖν νόμος ὅδε περὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐπὶ Κρόνου, καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτ᾽ ἔστιν ἐν θεοῖς, τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν μὲν δικαίως διελθόντα τὸν βίον καὶ ὁσίως, ἐπειδὰν τελευτήσῃ, εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀπιόντα οἰκεῖν ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐκτὸς κακῶν, τὸν δ᾽ ἀδίκως καὶ ἀθέως
121 εἰς τὸ τῆς δίκης τε καὶ τίσεως δεσμωτήριον, ὃ δὴ Τάρταρον καλοῦσιν, ἰέναι. τούτων δ᾽ οἱ δικασταὶ ἐπὶ Κρόνου καὶ ἔτι νεωστὶ τοῦ Διὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος ζῶντες ἦσαν ζώντων, ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ δικάζοντες ᾗ μέλλοιεν τελευτᾶν. ἔπειτα αἱ δίκαι πως οὐ καλῶς ἐκρίνοντο. ὅ τ᾽ οὖν Πλούτων καὶ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ οἱ ἐκ μακάρων νήσων ἰόντες ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Δία ὅτι φοιτῷέν σφισιν ἄνθρωποι ἑκατέρωσε ἀνάξιοι. εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ζεύς, ‘ἀλλ᾽ ἐγώ,’ ἔφη, ‘παύσω τοῦτο γιγνόμενον. νῦν μὲν γὰρ
B κακῶς αἱ δίκαι δικάζονται. ἀμπεχόμενοι γάρ,’ ἔφη, ‘οἱ κρινόμενοι κρίνονται· ζῶντες γὰρ κρίνονται. πολλοὶ οὖν[5] ἴσως,’ ἦ δ᾽ ὅς, ‘πονηρὰς ψυχὰς

[1] Καλλικλέα added by Xylander from 121 D *infra*.

[2] In the quotation from Plato (*Gorg.* p. 523 C) the text has been corrected to accord with the text of Plato, but it is quite likely that some of these readings stood in Plutarch's copy of Plato, and are not errors of the MSS. of Plutarch.

[3] *φασί* Plato: *φησί*.

to Callicles the Athenian, the friend and disciple of Gorgias the orator, are timely and profitable. They say that Socrates, according to Plato's account,[a] says: "Listen to a very beautiful story, which you, I imagine, will regard as a myth, but which I regard as a story; for what I am going to say I shall relate as true. As Homer[b] tells the tale, Zeus, Poseidon, and Pluto divided the kingdom when they received it from their father. Now this was the custom regarding men even in the time of Cronus, and it has persisted among the gods to this day—that the man who has passed through life justly and in holiness shall, at his death, depart to the Islands of the Blest and dwell in all happiness beyond the reach of evil, while he who has lived an unjust and godless life shall go to the prison-house of justice and punishment, which they call Tartarus. The judges of these men, in the time of Cronus and in the early days of Zeus's dominion, were living, and judged the living, giving judgement on the day when the men were about to die. As time went on, for some reason the cases were not decided well. Accordingly Pluto and the supervisors in the Islands of the Blest went to Zeus and said to him that there kept coming to them at both places inadmissible persons. 'Very well,' said Zeus, 'then I shall put a stop to this proceeding. The judgements are now rendered poorly; for,' said he, 'those who are judged are judged with a covering on them, since they are judged while alive, and so,' he continued, 'a good

[a] *Gorgias*, p. 523 A. [b] *Iliad*, xv. 187.

[4] ὥσπερ . . . λέγει Plato: omitted in the MSS. of Plutarch.
[5] πολλοὶ οὖν Plato: πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν.

(121) ἔχοντες ἠμφιεσμένοι εἰσὶ σώματά τε καλὰ καὶ γένη καὶ πλούτους, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἡ κρίσις ᾖ, ἔρχονται αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ μαρτυρήσοντες ὡς δικαίως βεβιώκασιν. οἱ οὖν δικασταὶ ὑπό τε τούτων ἐκπλήττονται, καὶ[1] ἅμα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμπεχόμενοι δικάζουσι, πρὸ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὀφθαλμούς τε καὶ ὦτα καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα προκεκαλυμμένοι. ταῦτα δὴ αὐτοῖς πάντ' ἐπίπροσθεν[2] γίγνεται, καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἀμφιέσματα καὶ τὰ τῶν κρινομένων. C πρῶτον μὲν οὖν παυστέον ἐστὶ προειδότας αὐτοὺς τὸν θάνατον· νῦν[3] γὰρ προΐσασι. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ δὴ εἴρηται τῷ Προμηθεῖ, ὅπως ἂν παύσῃ αὐτό.[4] ἔπειτα γυμνοὺς κριτέον ἁπάντων τούτων· τεθνεῶτας γὰρ δεῖ κρίνεσθαι. καὶ τὸν κριτὴν δεῖ γυμνὸν εἶναι, τεθνεῶτα, αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν θεωροῦντα ἐξαίφνης ἀποθανόντος ἑκάστου, ἔρημον ἁπάντων τῶν συγγενῶν, καὶ[5] καταλιπόντα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πάντα ἐκεῖνον τὸν κόσμον, ἵνα δικαία ἡ κρίσις[6] ᾖ. ἐγὼ οὖν ταῦτ' ἐγνωκὼς πρότερος[7] ἢ ὑμεῖς ἐποιησάμην δικαστὰς υἱεῖς ἐμαυτοῦ, δύο μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, Μίνω τε καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν, ἕνα δ' ἐκ D τῆς Εὐρώπης, Αἰακόν. οὗτοι οὖν ἐπειδὰν τελευτήσωσι, δικάσουσιν ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι, ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ ἐξ ἧς φέρετον τὼ[8] ὁδώ, ἡ μὲν εἰς μακάρων νήσους, ἡ δ' εἰς Τάρταρον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Ῥαδάμανθυς κρινεῖ, τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Αἰακός· Μίνῳ δὲ πρεσβεῖα δώσω ἐπιδιακρίνειν ἐὰν ἀπορῆτόν τι τὼ ἑτέρω,[9] ἵν' ὡς δικαιοτάτη ἡ[10]

[1] ἐκπλήττονται καὶ Plato: ἐκπλήττονται.
[2] ἐπίπροσθεν Plato: ἐπιπρόσθησις.
[3] νῦν Plato: νῦν μὲν.
[4] αὐτό] αὐτῶν Plato.
[5] συγγενῶν καὶ Plato: συγγενῶν.
[6] δικαία ἡ κρίσις Plato: ἡ κρίσις δικαία.

many perhaps who have base souls are clad with beautiful bodies and ancestry and riches, and, when the judgement takes place, many come to testify for them that they have lived righteously. So not only are the judges disconcerted by these things, but at the same time they themselves sit in judgement with a covering on them, having before their own souls, like a veil, their eyes and ears and their whole body. All these things come between, both their own covering and that of those who are being judged. In the first place, then, all their foreknowledge of death must be ended; for now they have foreknowledge of it. So Prometheus has been told to put an end to this. Secondly, they must be judged divested of all these things; for they must be judged after they have died. The judge also must be naked, and dead, that he may view with his very soul the very soul of every man instantly after he has died, and isolated from all his kin, having left behind on earth all earthly adornments, so that his judgement may be just. I, therefore, realizing this situation sooner than you, have made my own sons judges, two from Asia—Minos and Rhadamanthys—and one from Europe—Aeacus. These, then, as soon as they have died, shall sit in judgement in the meadow at the parting of the ways whence the two roads lead, the one to the Islands of the Blest and the other to Tartarus. The people of Asia shall Rhadamanthys judge, while Aeacus shall judge the people of Europe; and to Minos I shall give the prerogative of pronouncing final judgement in case the other

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[7] *πρότερος* Plato: *πρότερον*. [8] *τὼ* Plato: *τὰ*.
[9] *ἀπορῆτόν τι τὼ ἑτέρω* Plato: *ἀπόρρητόν τι ᾗ τῷ ἑτέρῳ*.
[10] *ᾐ* Plato.

κρίσις ᾖ περὶ τῆς πορείας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.' ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὦ Καλλίκλεις, ἃ ἐγὼ ἀκηκοὼς πιστεύω ἀληθῆ εἶναι· καὶ ἐκ τούτων τῶν λόγων τοιόνδε[1] τι λογίζομαι συμβαίνειν, ὅτι[2] ὁ θάνατος τυγχάνει ὤν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δυοῖν πραγμάτοιν διά-
E λυσις, τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀπ' ἀλλήλοιν."

37 Ταῦτά σοι συναγαγών, Ἀπολλώνιε φίλτατε, καὶ συνθεὶς μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀπειργασάμην τὸν παραμυθητικόν σοι λόγον, ἀναγκαιότατον ὄντα σοι πρός τε τὴν τῆς παρούσης λύπης ἀπαλλαγὴν καὶ τοῦ πάντων ἀνιαροτάτου πένθους παῦλαν. περιέχει δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεοφιλέστατον υἱόν σου Ἀπολλώνιον πρέπουσαν τιμήν, ποθεινοτάτην οὖσαν τοῖς ἀφιερωθεῖσι, τὴν διὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς μνήμης καὶ τῆς ἀδιαλείπτου πρὸς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον εὐφημίας. καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις καὶ τῷ λόγῳ πεισθεὶς καὶ τῷ μακαρίτῃ σου υἱῷ
F χαρισάμενος καὶ μεταβαλὼν ἐκ τῆς ἀνωφελοῦς περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κακώσεως καὶ καταφθορᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν συνήθη σοι καὶ κατὰ φύσιν διαγωγὴν ἐλθεῖν. ὡς γὰρ οὐδὲ συμβιῶν ἡμῖν ἡδέως ἑώρα κατηφεῖς ὄντας οὔτε σὲ οὔτε τὴν μητέρα, οὕτως οὐδὲ νῦν μετὰ θεῶν ὢν καὶ τούτοις συνεστιώμενος εὐαρεστήσειεν ἂν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ὑμῶν διαγωγῇ. ἀνδρὸς οὖν ἀγαθοῦ καὶ γενναίου καὶ
122 φιλοτέκνου φρόνημα ἀναλαβὼν σεαυτόν τε καὶ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἔκλυσαι τῆς τοιαύτης κακοδαιμονίας, εἰς γαληνότερον μετελθὼν βίου σχῆμα καὶ προσφιλέστατον τῷ τε υἱῷ σου καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς κηδομένοις σου κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον.

[1] τοιόνδε Plato: τοιόν (sic).
[2] ὅτι not in Plato.

two be in any doubt, in order that the decision in regard to the route which men must take shall be as just as possible.' This, Callicles, is what I have heard, and believe to be true; and from these words I draw the following inference—that death is, as it seems to me, nothing else than the severing of two things, soul and body, from each other."

37. Having collected and put together these extracts, my dearest Apollonius, with great diligence, I have completed this letter of condolence to you, which is most needful to enable you to put aside your present grief and to put an end to mourning, which is the most distressing of all things. In it is included also for your son, Apollonius, a youth so very dear to the gods, a fitting tribute, which is much coveted by the sanctified—a tribute due to his honourable memory and to his fair fame, which will endure for time eternal. You will do well, therefore, to be persuaded by reason, and, as a favour to your dear departed son, to turn from your unprofitable distress and desolation, which affect both body and soul, and to go back to your accustomed and natural course of life. Forasmuch as your son, while he was living among us, was sorry to see either you or his mother downcast, even so, now that he is with the gods and is feasting with them, he would not be well satisfied with your present course of life. Resume, therefore, the spirit of a brave-hearted and high-minded man who loves his offspring, and set free from all this wretchedness both yourself, the mother of the youth, and your relatives and friends, as you may do by pursuing a more tranquil form of life, which will be most gratifying both to your son and to all of us who are concerned for you, as we rightly should be.

ADVICE ABOUT KEEPING WELL

(DE TUENDA SANITATE PRAECEPTA)

INTRODUCTION

Plutarch had more than a casual interest in medicine, for, besides this essay on keeping well, his other works abound in references to the behaviour of the sick and their treatment, and the medical practices of his day. Long before the time of Plutarch the art of medicine, always empirical, had been put on a solid foundation, and the acute observations of Hippocrates and his school had been set down in writing; and this body of Hippocratic medical writings, along with others, was in circulation, and had undoubtedly been read by Plutarch.

That medicine has made very great advances since Plutarch's time is, of course, self-evident; "aseptic," "antiseptic," and "sterilize" are now household words, and the germ theory of disease has, in recent times, shed light on much which before was dark. But Plutarch is not dealing with the technical side of medicine; he is only giving some common-sense advice on rational living, and much that he has to say in regard to rest, exercise, and diet is in accord with the best medical practice of the present day. In fact, it is doubtful if any physician would take exception to anything that Plutarch advises (his advice is meant for men whose work is done with their heads rather than their hands), and one might name men in public life to-day, well on in years, who have followed many of his suggestions, unwittingly, no doubt, but to their own advantage.

The essay seems, at the first glance, to be put in the form of a dialogue, but it is about as much of a dialogue as Quiller-Couch's *Foe-Farrell*. The dialogue form is merely a literary subterfuge to present an essay in a slightly more attractive form, and the third person of the dialogue, only occasionally recalled to the reader by the parsimonious interjection of " he said," may be presumed to be Plutarch, the author. The two speakers in the brief dialogue at the beginning of the essay are Moschion, a physician, whom Plutarch introduces also into the *Symposiacs* (*Moralia*, 658 A), and Zeuxippus, a friend of Plutarch's, who is introduced also as a speaking character in two other essays of Plutarch's (*Moralia*, 748 E and 1086 C), besides being mentioned several times in other essays.

That the essay was written some time after A.D. 81 is clear from the reference to the death of the Roman Emperor Titus (123 D).

The title of the essay is included in Lamprias' list of Plutarch's works, and Stobaeus, in his *Florilegium*, has several quotations from it, sometimes with a slightly different reading, but none of these readings changes the meaning of the passage at all, and rarely is one to be preferred to the reading found in the MSS. of Plutarch (see Vol. I. Introd. p. xxi).

Indeed, the text of this essay has suffered more at the hands of modern editors than from the ancient copyists, for a glance at the foot-notes in Bernardakis's edition will show that the gratuitous and unnecessary changes introduced into the text by modern editors outnumber their corrections of the minor errors in spelling, and the like, made by the ancient copyists.

ΥΓΙΕΙΝΑ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΑ

1. ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ. Σὺ δὴ Γλαῦκον χθές, ὦ Ζεύξιππε, τὸν ἰατρὸν ἀπετρίψω[1] συμφιλοσοφεῖν ὑμῖν βουλόμενον.

ΖΕΥΞΙΠΠΟΣ. Οὔτ' ἀπετριψάμην,[1] ὦ φίλε Μοσχίων, οὔτ' ἐβούλετο συμφιλοσοφεῖν ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ'
C ἔφυγον καὶ ἐφοβήθην λαβὴν φιλομαχοῦντι παρασχεῖν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ἰατρικῇ καθ' Ὅμηρον ὁ ἀνὴρ

πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων,[a]

οὐκ εὐμενὴς δὲ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, ἀλλ' ἀεί τι τραχὺ καὶ δύσκολον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς λόγοις. καὶ νῦν ἐναντίος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐχώρει, βοῶν ἔτι πρόσωθεν οὐ μικρὸν οὐδ' ἐπιεικὲς ἔργον ἡμῖν σύγχυσιν ὅρων τετολμῆσθαι διαλεχθεῖσι περὶ διαίτης ὑγιεινῆς. "χωρὶς" γὰρ ἔφη τὰ φιλοσόφων καὶ ἰατρῶν ὥσπερ τινῶν "Μυσῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν ὁρίσματα,"[b] καί τινα τῶν οὐ μετὰ σπουδῆς, οὐ μὴν ἀχρήστως,
D εἰρημένων παρ' ἡμῶν διὰ στόματος ἔχων ἐσπάραττεν.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἔγωγε καὶ τῶν

[1] ἀπετρίψω . . . ἀπετριψάμην Cobet and L. Dindorf: ἀπετρέψω . . . ἀπετρεψάμην.

[a] Homer, *Il.* xi. 514.

[b] Proverbial; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, No. 560.

ADVICE ABOUT KEEPING WELL

1. MOSCHION. So, Zeuxippus, yesterday you drove away Glaucus, the physician, when he wished to join in your philosophical discussions.

ZEUXIPPUS. No, my dear Moschion, I did not drive him away, nor did he wish to join in philosophical discussion, but I avoided him and feared giving an opening to a man fond of contention. In medicine the man is, as Homer [a] puts it,

> Worth many others together,

but he is not kindly disposed towards philosophy, and there is always a certain harshness and ill-nature inherent in his remarks. And just then he was coming at us full tilt, crying out, even before he came near us, that it was no small or suitable task, amounting in fact to a confusion of all bounds, which had been boldly assumed by us in discussing a healthful manner of living. For he asserted that the subjects of philosophy and medicine are as "far remote" from each other as "are the boundaries of" any "Mysians and Phrygians" [b]; and thereupon, as he had at the tip of his tongue some statements of ours, which, though not very carefully formulated, are certainly not without utility, he proceeded to tear them to pieces.

MOSCHION. Well, in this and in other matters,

(122) ἄλλων, ὦ Ζεύξιππε, πρόθυμος ἀκροατὴς ἡδέως ἂν γενοίμην.

ΖΕΥΞΙΠΠΟΣ. Φιλόσοφος γὰρ εἶ τὴν φύσιν, ὦ Μοσχίων, καὶ τῷ μὴ φιλιατροῦντι χαλεπαίνεις φιλοσόφῳ, καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς εἰ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν οἴεται προσήκειν γεωμετρίας καὶ διαλεκτικῆς καὶ μουσικῆς ὁρᾶσθαι μεταποιούμενον ἢ ζητεῖν καὶ μανθάνειν βουλόμενον

ὅττι τοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακόν τ' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται

τῷ σώματι. καίτοι πλείους ἂν ἴδοις ἐκεῖ θεατάς, ὅπου θεωρικόν τι νέμεται τοῖς συνιοῦσιν, ὥσπερ
E Ἀθήνησι· τῶν ἐλευθερίων δὲ τεχνῶν ἰατρικὴ τὸ μὲν γλαφυρὸν καὶ περιττὸν καὶ ἐπιτερπὲς οὐδεμιᾶς ἐνδεέστερον ἔχει, θεωρικὸν δὲ μέγα τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσι τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ὑγίειαν ἐπιδίδωσιν. ὥστ' οὐ παράβασιν ὅρων ἐπικαλεῖν δεῖ τοῖς περὶ ὑγιεινῶν διαλεγομένοις φιλοσόφοις, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀνελόντες οἴονται δεῖν τοὺς ὅρους ὥσπερ ἐν μιᾷ χώρᾳ κοινῶς ἐμφιλοκαλεῖν, ἅμα τὸ ἡδὺ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον διώκοντες.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ. Ἀλλὰ Γλαῦκον μὲν ἐῶμεν, ὦ Ζεύξιππε, ὑπὸ σεμνότητος αὐτοτελῆ βουλόμενον εἶναι καὶ ἀπροσδεῆ φιλοσοφίας, σὺ δὲ τοὺς λόγους
F ἡμῖν δίελθε πάντας· εἰ δὲ βούλει, πρώτους ἐκείνους

Zeuxippus, I should be very glad to be your attentive listener.

ZEUXIPPUS. That is because you, Moschion, have a natural gift for philosophy, and you feel incensed at the philosopher who does not take an interest in medicine, and you are indignant that such a man should imagine it more becoming for him, in the eyes of mankind, to profess some knowledge of geometry, logical discussion, and music, than to desire to seek out and know

> All that of evil and good may have chanced to betide in the dwelling [a]

which is his own body. And yet you will see a larger number of spectators in the theatres where money to pay for admission is distributed to those who gather together, as at Athens; and of the liberal arts medicine is inferior to none in elegance, distinction, and the satisfaction which it yields, and it gives to its students admission to something of very great importance—the preservation of their life and health. Consequently, the charge of trespass ought not to lie against philosophers if they discuss matters of health, but rather should they be blamed if they do not consider it their duty to abolish all boundary-lines altogether, and to make a single field, as it were, of all honourable studies, and therein to cultivate them in common, thus aiming in their discussion at both the pleasant and the essential.

MOSCHION. Well, Zeuxippus, let us say no more about Glaucus, who is so self-important that he wants to be a law unto himself, needing no help from philosophy; but do you tell us in detail the whole discussion; or, if you prefer, just those statements

[a] Homer, *Od.* iv. 392.

ὧν ἔφης οὐ πάνυ μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰρημένων ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τὸν Γλαῦκον.

2. ΖΕΥΞΙΠΠΟΣ. Ἔφη τοίνυν ὁ ἑταῖρος ἡμῶν ἀκοῦσαί τινος λέγοντος ὡς τὸ τὰς χεῖρας ἀεὶ θερμὰς ἔχειν καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν ψυχομένας οὐ
123 μικρὸν εἴη πρὸς ὑγίειαν, καὶ τοὐναντίον ἡ τῶν ἄκρων περίψυξις εἰς τὰ μέσα συνελαύνουσα τὸ θερμὸν ὥσπερ τινὰ συνήθειαν ἢ μελέτην ἐμποιεῖ πυρετοῦ· τὸ δ' ἔξω στρέφοντα μετὰ τῆς θερμότητος ἕλκειν ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ διανέμειν τὴν ὕλην ὑγιεινόν. ἂν μὲν οὖν[1] ἐνεργοῦντές τι ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ χρώμενοι τυγχάνωμεν, αὐτὴν τὴν κίνησιν ἐπάγειν ἐνταῦθα καὶ συνέχειν τὸ θερμόν· ἔργων δὲ τοιούτων σχολὴν ἄγοντας ἥκιστα δεῖν προσδέχεσθαι τοῖς ἄκροις τὸ ψυχρόν.

3. Ἓν μὲν οὖν τοῦτο τῶν γελασθέντων ἦν· δεύτερον δ' οἶμαι τὸ περὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἃς προσ-
B φέρετε τοῖς κάμνουσιν. ἅπτεσθαι γὰρ αὐτῶν διὰ χρόνου παρῄνει καὶ γεύεσθαι, συνεθίζοντας αὑτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ μὴ τρέμοντας ὥσπερ τὰ παιδάρια μηδὲ μισοῦντας ἐκείνην τὴν δίαιταν, ἀλλὰ ποιουμένους ἀτρέμα χειροήθη ταῖς ὀρέξεσι καὶ σύντροφον, ὅπως ἐν τῷ νοσεῖν μὴ δυσχεραίνωμεν ὡς φάρμακα τὰ σιτία μηδ' ἀσχάλλωμεν ἁπλοῦν τι καὶ ἄνοψον καὶ ἄκνισον λαμβάνοντες. ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀλούτους ποτὲ φευκτέον ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τροφὴν οὐδ' ὕδωρ πιεῖν οἴνου παρόντος οὐδὲ θερμὸν ἐν θέρει, χιόνος παρακειμένης, τὰς μὲν

[1] οὖν added by Meziriacus.

[a] Plutarch himself presumably.
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 635 C.
[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 661 B.

which you first referred to as not altogether carefully formulated, which you say Glaucus seized upon.

2. ZEUXIPPUS. Well, our companion[a] asserted that he had heard somebody say that keeping the hands always warm, and never allowing them to get cold, is in no small measure conducive to health, and, conversely, the chilling of the extremities, by concentrating the warmth in the interior of the body, creates, as it were, a habit or a predisposition towards feverishness; and for a man to divert the substances in his body toward the surface, and to conduct and distribute them, along with the warmth, to all parts of his body, is healthful.[b] If therefore we happen to be doing something with our hands and using them, the motion itself brings the warmth to these parts, and keeps it there; but when not engaged in such activities we must by no means allow the cold to find lodgement in our extremities.

3. This, then, was one of the things ridiculed. The second, I think, concerned the food which you people serve to the sick. For he urged that we should partake of it and taste it from time to time, and get ourselves used to it in time of health, and not abhor and detest such a regimen, like little children, but gradually make it familiar and congenial to our appetites, so that in sickness we may not be disaffected over our fare as if it were so much medicine, and may not show impatience at receiving something simple, unappetising, and savourless.[c] For this reason, too, omitting the bath now and then before going to a meal is not a thing to be avoided, nor drinking only water when wine is at hand, nor drinking anything lukewarm in the summer-time when there is snow on the table; and while dismissing

(123) ἐπιδεικτικὰς καὶ σοφιστικὰς χαίρειν ἐῶντας ἀπο-
C σχέσεις τῶν τοιούτων καὶ μεγαλαυχίας ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀποσχέσεσιν, αὐτοὺς δὲ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς σιωπῇ τήν τε ὄρεξιν ἅμα τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑπήκοον ἐθίζοντας εἶναι μετ' εὐκολίας, καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφαιροῦντας πόρρωθεν ἔτι τὴν περὶ ταῦτα μικρολογίαν ἐν ταῖς νόσοις καὶ τὸ ἐπιθρηνεῖν, ἀνοδυρομένης ὡς ἐξ ἡδονῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἀγαπητῶν εἰς ἀγεννῆ καὶ ταπεινὴν ἀπελήλαται δίαιταν.

Εὖ γὰρ εἰρημένον τὸ "ἑλοῦ βίον τὸν ἄριστον, ἡδὺν δ' αὐτὸν ἡ συνήθεια ποιήσει," καὶ κατὰ μέρος ὡς ἕκαστα πειρωμένῳ χρήσιμόν ἐστι, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα διαιτημάτων, ἐν τοῖς ὑγιεινοτάτοις ἐπάγοντα τὴν συνήθειαν, εὐμενῆ καὶ γνώριμα τῇ φύσει καὶ οἰκεῖα παρασκευάζειν,
D μεμνημένον ἃ πάσχουσιν ἔνιοι καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀρρωστίαις, χαλεπαίνοντες καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντες ὕδατος θερμοῦ προσφερομένου καὶ ῥοφήματος ἢ ἄρτου, μιαρὰ μὲν ταῦτα καὶ ἀηδῆ μιαροὺς δὲ καὶ χαλεποὺς τοὺς ἀναγκάζοντας ἀποκαλοῦντες. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ λουτρὸν ἀπώλεσεν, οὐδὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ μέγα κακὸν ἔχοντας ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι μηδ' ὑπομένειν γεύσασθαι τροφῆς ἀλούτους· ὧν καὶ Τίτος ἦν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ὥς φασιν οἱ νοσηλεύσαντες.

4. Ἔτι τοίνυν ἐλέχθη τοιοῦτον, ὡς ἀεὶ μὲν ὑγιεινότερα σώματι τὰ εὐτελέστερα, μάλιστα δὲ
E φυλακτέον πλησμονὰς καὶ μέθας καὶ ἡδυπαθείας

[a] A precept of Pythagoras according to Plutarch, *Moralia*, 466 F, and other writers who quote it; *cf.* also *Moralia*, 602 B.

[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Laws*, p. 797 E.

[c] There are varying accounts regarding the manner of Titus's death, poisoning or drowning being also alleged.

once for all time the ostentatious and studied abstinence from such things and the bragging over it, we should silently, by our own selves, habituate the appetite to be obedient to expediency with all serenity, and long beforehand we must rid our soul of its squeamishness in times of sickness about such trifles, and its lamentation thereat, as it deplores how it has been driven away from great and fond pleasures to an ignoble and humiliating way of living.

Well has it been said, "Choose the life that is best, and constant habit will make it pleasant," [a] and, in particular, it is profitable for a man, experimenting with each several department of life and especially with those which have to do with the practices which affect the body, to inculcate a fixed habit during periods of soundest health, so thus to make these things agreeable, familiar, and congenial to his nature,[b] bearing in mind how some men feel and act in times of sickness, being angry and fretful when hot water and gruel, or plain bread, is served to them, calling these things abominable and unpleasant, and abominable and hard-hearted also those who would force such things upon them. A bath has proved to be the death of many men who at the outset had not much the matter with them, save only that they could not and would not bear to taste food unless they had first had their bath; of whom Titus the Emperor [c] was one, as those who attended him in his illness affirm.

4. Something, moreover, was said to this effect, that, while the less expensive things are always more healthful for the body, we ought especially to guard against excess in eating and drinking, and against

ἑορτήν τινα μέλλουσαν ἢ φίλων ὑποδοχὴν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντας ἢ προσδοκῶντας ἑστίασιν βασιλικὴν καὶ ἡγεμονικὴν καὶ συμπεριφορὰν ἀπαραίτητον, οἷον ἐπιόντος ἀνέμου καὶ κύματος εὐσταλὲς τὸ σῶμα καὶ κοῦφον ἐν εὐδίᾳ παρασκευάζοντας. ἔργον γάρ ἐστιν ἐν συνουσίαις καὶ φιλοφροσύναις αὑτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν μετρίων καὶ τῶν συνήθων φυλάξαι μὴ πᾶσι μετ' ἀηδίας δεινῆς ἐπαχθῆ φανέντα καὶ φορτικόν. ἵν' οὖν μὴ πῦρ ἐπὶ πυρί, ὥς φασι, πλησμονή τις ἐπὶ πλησμονῇ καὶ ἄκρατος ἐπ'
F ἀκράτῳ γένηται, τὸ παιχθὲν ἀστείως ὑπὸ Φιλίππου μετὰ σπουδῆς μιμητέον· ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον. ἄνθρωπος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ χώρας ὡς σὺν ὀλίγοις ὄντα δειπνῆσαι παρεκάλεσεν, εἶθ' ὁρῶν πολλοὺς ἄγοντα παρεσκευασμένων οὐ πολλῶν ἐταράττετο. συναισθόμενος οὖν ὁ Φίλιππος ὑπέπεμπε τῶν φίλων ἑκάστῳ
124 κελεύων πλακοῦντι καταλιπεῖν χώραν, οἱ δὲ πειθόμενοι καὶ προσδοκῶντες ἐφείδοντο τῶν παρκειμένων. ἤρκεσεν οὖν ἅπασι τὸ δεῖπνον. οὕτω δὴ προπαρασκευαστέον αὑτοὺς τῶν ἀναγκαίων συμπεριφορῶν, καὶ ὄψῳ καὶ πέμματι καὶ νὴ Δία μέθῃ χώραν φυλάττοντας ἐν τῷ σώματι, καὶ πρόσφατον ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ[1] βουλομένην τὴν ὄρεξιν ἄγοντας.

5. Ἂν δὲ τοιαῦταί τινες ἄφνω βαρεῖς ὄντας ἡμᾶς καὶ διακειμένους φαύλως ἀνάγκαι καταλάβωσιν ἡγεμόνων καλούντων ἢ ξένων ἐπιφανέντων ὑπ'

[1] ταῦτα καὶ Reiske: ταῦτα.

[a] The proverb may be found in Plato's *Laws*, p. 666 A, and often repeated in other writers.

[b] The story is repeated by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 178 D, and referred to, *Moralia*, 707 B.

all self-indulgence when we have immediately on hand some festival or a visit from friends, or when we are expecting an entertainment of some king or high official with its unavoidable social engagements ; and thus we should, as it were, in fair weather make our body trim and buoyant against the oncoming wind and wave. It is indeed a hard task, in the midst of company and good cheer, to keep to moderation and one's habits and at the same time to avoid the extreme disagreeableness which makes one appear offensive and tiresome to the whole company. Therefore, to avoid adding fire to fire (as the proverb has it),[a] and gorging to gorging, and strong drink to strong drink, we ought with all seriousness to imitate the polite joke of Philip. It was in this wise[b] : A man had invited Philip to dinner in the country, assuming that he had but a few with him, but when later the host saw Philip bringing a great company, no great preparations having been made, he was much perturbed. Philip, becoming aware of the situation, sent word privately to each of his friends to "leave room for cake." They, following the advice, and looking for more to come, ate sparingly of what was before them, and so the dinner was ample for all. In this manner, then, we ought to prepare ourselves in anticipation of our imperative round of social engagements by keeping room in the body for elaborate dishes and pastry, and, I dare to say it, for indulgence in strong drink also, by bringing to these things an appetite fresh and willing.

5. If, however, such imperative occasions suddenly confront us when we are overloaded and in no condition for taking part—if, for instance, we receive an invitation from a high official, or guests appear, so

(124) αἰδοῦς βαδίζειν εἰς ταὐτὸ τοῖς ἱκανῶς ἔχουσι καὶ
B συμπίνειν, ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα δεῖ παρατετάχθαι πρὸς "τὴν μέγα σινομένην ἄνδρας αἰδῶ" καὶ δυσωπίαν, τὰ τοῦ τραγικοῦ Κρέοντος λέγοντος

> κρεῖσσον δέ μοι νῦν πρός σ' ἀπέχθεσθαι, ξένε,
> ἢ μαλθακισθένθ' ὕστερον μέγα στένειν.

τὸ γὰρ ἀγροικίας φοβηθέντα δόξαν εἰς πλευρῖτιν ἢ φρενῖτιν ἐμβάλλειν ἑαυτὸν ἀγροίκου τινὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστι καὶ νοῦν οὐκ ἔχοντος οὐδὲ λόγον ἄνευ κύλικος καὶ κνίσης ἀνθρώποις ἐπιστάμενον ὁμιλεῖν. ἥ τε γὰρ παραίτησις ἂν τὸ ἐπιδέξιον καὶ τὸ ἀστεῖον ἔχῃ, οὐχ ἧττον ἔσται κεχαρισμένη τῆς συμπερι-
C φορᾶς· ἄν τέ τις παρέχων ἑστίασιν ὥσπερ θυσίαν ἄγευστον αὐτὸς ἀπέχηται, παρά τε τῇ κύλικι καὶ τῇ τραπέζῃ μετὰ προθυμίας καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ἅμα τι παίζων καὶ λέγων εἰς ἑαυτόν, ἡδίων φανεῖται τοῦ συμμεθυσκομένου καὶ συνοψοφαγοῦντος. ἐμνήσθη δὲ τῶν μὲν παλαιῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου μετὰ πότον πολὺν αἰσχυνθέντος ἀντειπεῖν Μηδίῳ παρακαλοῦντι, καὶ καταβαλόντος[1] αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὑτὸν[2] εἰς ἄκρατον ἀφ' οὗ διεφθάρη, τῶν δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ῥήγλου τοῦ παγκρατιαστοῦ. καλοῦντος γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ λουτρὸν ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ Τίτου Καίσαρος ἧκε καὶ

[1] καταβαλόντος Bernardakis: καταβάλλοντι.
[2] αὑτὸν Hercher: αὐτὸν.

[a] The reference may be to Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 45 (*cf.* Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 318).
[b] Euripides, *Medea*, 290, quoted also in *Moralia*, 530 c.
[c] *Cf.* *Moralia*, 612 F.
[d] Presumably Plutarch again.

that we are constrained by a false sense of shame to join company with men who are in fit condition and to drink with them—then especially, in order to combat "shame which works mischief for men"[a] (or rather I would call it shamefacedness), we should summon to our defence the words which Creon speaks[b] in the tragedy:

> 'Twere better, friend, to gain your hatred now
> Than be soft-hearted and lament anon.

For to be so afraid of being thought ill-bred as to plunge oneself into a pleurisy or brain-fever is proof that one is in very truth ill-bred, possessed of neither sense nor the reason which knows how to consort with men without the wine-glass and the savour of food.[c] For a request to be excused, if characterized by cleverness and wit, is no less agreeable than joining in the round of gaiety; and if a man provides a banquet in the same spirit in which he provides a burnt-offering which it is forbidden to taste, and personally abstains when the wine-cup and the table are before him, at the same time volunteering cheerfully some playful allusion to himself, he will create a pleasanter impression than the man who gets drunk and gormandizes for company. Of the men of earlier times he[d] mentioned Alexander,[e] who, after a prolonged debauch, was ashamed to say no to the challenges of Medius, and abandoned himself to a fresh round of hard drinking, which cost him his life; and of the men of our time he mentioned Regulus the prize-fighter. For when Titus Caesar called him to the bath at daybreak,

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. lxxv. (p. 706 c); Diodorus, xvii. 117; Athenaeus, 434 c; Arrian, *Anabasis*, vii. 25. 1; Quintus Curtius, x. 4; Justin, xii. 13.

D συνελούσατο, καὶ πιὼν ἅπαξ, ὥς φασιν, ἀποπληξίας (124) καταλαβούσης εὐθὺς ἀπέθανε.

Ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ὁ Γλαῦκος ἐν γέλωτι προύφερεν ὡς παιδαγωγικά· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐ πάνυ πρόθυμος ἦν ἀκούειν, οὐδ' ἡμεῖς ἐκείνῳ διηγεῖσθαι. σὺ δ' ἐπισκόπει τῶν λεχθέντων ἕκαστον.

6. Πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σωκράτης παρακελευόμενος φυλάττεσθαι τῶν βρωμάτων ὅσα μὴ πεινῶντας ἐσθίειν ἀναπείθει, καὶ τῶν πωμάτων ὅσα πίνειν μὴ διψῶντας, οὐχ ἁπλῶς τὸ χρῆσθαι τούτοις ἀπ-
E ηγόρευσεν, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι δεομένους ἐδίδασκε καὶ τὸ ἡδὺ κατατάττοντας αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ θεωρικὰ ποιοῦντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι στρατιωτικά. τὸ γὰρ ἡδὺ τῇ φύσει μέχρι ἂν ᾖ μέρος τοῦ τρέφοντος οἰκεῖόν ἐστι, καὶ δεῖ πεινῶντας ἔτι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπολαύειν ἢ τῶν ἡδέων, ἰδίᾳ δὲ μὴ κινεῖν ἑτέρας ὀρέξεις τῶν κοινῶν ἀπηλλαγμένους. ὥσπερ γὰρ αὖ τῷ[1] Σωκράτει γυμνάσιον ἦν οὐκ ἀηδὲς ἡ ὄρχησις, οὕτως ᾧτινι τὸ πέμμα καὶ τὸ τράγημα δεῖπνόν ἐστι καὶ σιτίον, ἧττον βλάπτεται· τὸ δ' ἀπέχοντα τῇ φύσει τὸ μέτριον καὶ πεπληρωμένον ἐπιδράττεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων φυλακτέον ἐν
F τοῖς μάλιστα. φυλακτέον δὲ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα φιληδονίας καὶ γαστριμαργίας οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀπειροκαλίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν· καὶ γὰρ αὗται πολλάκις

[1] αὖ τῷ Wyttenbach: αὐτῷ.

[a] Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, i. 3. 6; *cf.* Plutarch, *Moralia*, 513 C, 521 E, and 661 F.

[b] Perhaps a reference to Demosthenes, lix. 4, which says that in time of war all surplus funds are to be devoted to the army.

[c] Xenophon, *Symposium*, ii. 17-20; again referred to *infra*, 130 E, and *Moralia* 711 E.

he came and bathed with him, took but one drink, they say, and died immediately from a stroke of apoplexy.

These are the teachings which Glaucus in derision quoted aggressively to us as pedantic. The rest he was not eager to hear, nor we to tell him. But I beg that you will examine each of the several statements.

6. First there is Socrates,[a] who, in urging us to be on our guard against such things to eat as persuade us to eat when we are not hungry, and such things to drink as persuade us to drink when we are not thirsty, did not absolutely forbid the use of these things; but he was instructing us to use them only if we needed them, and to make the pleasure in them serve our necessity, just as our statesmen do who turn to military uses their funds for amusements.[b] For that which is pleasant, in so far as it is a nutritive element, is congenial to our nature, and it is by remaining still hungry that we ought to get enjoyment from the necessary or the pleasant foods; but we should not stir up in ourselves a second and separate set of appetites after we have appeased the usual ones. And here is another consideration. Just as Socrates[c] found dancing a not unpleasant exercise, so the man for whom pastry and sweets serve as a meal and as food suffers less injury. But when a man has satisfied the moderate demands of his nature, and has had his fill, he ought to exercise the very greatest vigilance against helping himself to such things. And in such matters, while we should be on guard against love of pleasure and gluttony, yet we should be no less on guard against vulgarity and love of notoriety. For these latter often help to persuade people to eat

συναναπείθουσι μὴ πεινῶντας ἐσθίειν ἔνια καὶ πίνειν μὴ διψῶντας, ἀνελευθέρους κομιδῇ καὶ φορτικὰς ὑποβάλλουσαι φαντασίας, ὡς ἄτοπόν ἐστι πράγματος σπανίου καὶ πολυτελοῦς μὴ ἀπολαῦσαι παρόντος, οἷον οὔθατος ἢ μυκήτων Ἰταλικῶν ἢ Σαμίου πλακοῦντος ἢ χιόνος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ταῦτα γὰρ δήπου προάγεται πολλάκις χρῆσθαι τοῖς περιβοήτοις καὶ σπανίοις, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κνίσης
125 *τῆς κενῆς δόξης ἀγομένους καὶ τὸ σῶμα κοινωνεῖν μηδὲν δεόμενον ἀναγκάζοντας, ὅπως ἔχωσιν ἑτέροις διηγεῖσθαι, ζηλούμενοι τῆς ἀπολαύσεως τῶν οὕτω δυσποριστων καὶ περιττῶν. ὅμοια δὲ καὶ πρὸς γυναῖκας ἐνδόξους πάσχουσιν. ἰδίαις μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ καλαῖς καὶ ἀγαπώσαις συναναπαυόμενοι τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγουσι, Φρύνῃ δὲ τελέσαντες ἀργύριον ἢ Λαΐδι καὶ τὸ σῶμα φαύλως καὶ πρὸς συνουσίαν ἀργῶς ἔχοντες διακείμενον ἐγείρουσιν ἅμα καὶ παρακαλοῦσι τὸ ἀκόλαστον ἐπὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ὑπὸ τῆς κενῆς δόξης. αὐτὴ γοῦν ἔλεγεν ἡ Φρύνη πρεσβυ-*
B *τέρα γεγενημένη τὴν τρύγα πλείονος πωλεῖν διὰ τὴν δόξαν.*

7\. *Ἔστι δὲ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν, ἂν ὅσον ἡ φύσις δεομένη δέχεται τῶν ἡδονῶν προσιέμενοι τῷ σώματι, μᾶλλον δ' ἂν τὰ πολλὰ παρὰ τὰς ὀρέξεις αὐτῷ διαμαχόμενοι καὶ ἀναβαλλόμενοι καὶ μόλις πάνυ ταῖς ἀναγκαίαις χρηματίζοντες ἤ, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, καὶ δάκνοντος καὶ κατατείνοντος ἐνδιδόντες ἀβλαβεῖς ἀπαλλάττωμεν. τὰς δ' ἀνάπαλιν*

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[a] *Supra*, 124 D.

[b] For the cruelties practised in the preparation of this highly esteemed delicacy see Plutarch, *Moralia*, 997 A.

[c] The quotation does not appear in Plato, but Plutarch is

something when they are not hungry, and to drink when they are not thirsty,[a] by suggesting utterly sordid and cheap conceits—that it is absurd not to take advantage of the presence of some rare and expensive thing, as, for example, sow's udder,[b] Italian mushrooms, Samian cake, or snow in Egypt. For things of this sort do indeed often induce people to use what is renowned and rare, since they are led on by empty repute as by an attractive savour, and compel their body to do its share, although it feels no need, so that they may have a tale to tell to others, and may be envied for their enjoyment of things so hard to obtain and so uncommon. Quite similar is their behaviour toward notorious women. There are times when they repose in quiet with their own wives who are both lovely and loving, but when they have paid money to a Phryne or a Laïs, although their body is in sorry state and is inclined to shirk its task, they rouse it forthwith to action, and call in licentiousness to minister to pleasure, all because of empty repute. In fact, Phryne herself, in her advancing years, said that she got a better price for her remnants because of her repute.

7. It is a great marvel if we get off unscathed, when we concede to the body only as much of pleasures as Nature in her need finds a place for, but still more so when we battle with it vigorously to thwart its appetites, and keep putting them off, and finally consent to some negotiation with such as will not be denied, or, as Plato [c] says, "yield when the body bites and strains." But when the case is reversed,

probably summing up from memory an account of a contest with the passions such as may be found, for example, in the *Phaedrus*, pp. 254 ff.

(125) ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα κατιούσας ἐπιθυμίας καὶ καταβιαζομένας τοῖς ἐκείνης ὑπηρετεῖν καὶ
C συνεξανίστασθαι πάθεσιν οὐδεμία μηχανὴ τὸ μὴ σφοδροτάτας βλάβας καὶ μεγίστας ἐφ' ἡδοναῖς ἀσθενέσι καὶ ἀμαυραῖς ἐναπολιπεῖν. ἥκιστα δὲ ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμίᾳ σῶμα πρὸς ἡδονὰς κινητέον· ἡ γὰρ ἀρχὴ παρὰ φύσιν γίγνεται. καὶ καθάπερ αἱ τῶν μασχαλῶν ψηλαφήσεις οὐκ ἴδιον οὐδὲ πρᾶον οὐδ' ἵλεων γέλωτα τῇ ψυχῇ παρέχουσιν ἀλλ' ἐοικότα σπασμῷ καὶ χαλεπόν, οὕτω πάλιν ὅσας τὸ σῶμα νυττόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡδονὰς ἴσχει καὶ ταραττόμενον, ἐκστατικαὶ καὶ ταρακτικαὶ αὗται καὶ ἀλλότριαι τῆς φύσεώς εἰσιν. ὅταν οὖν
D τι τῶν σπανίων ἀπολαυσμάτων ἢ ἐνδόξων παραγένηται, φιλοτιμητέον ταῖς ἀποσχέσεσι μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἀπολαύσεσι, μεμνημένους ὅτι καθάπερ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ἔλεγε μηδέποτ' αὐτῷ μεταμελῆσαι σιγήσαντι, φθεγξαμένῳ δὲ πολλάκις,[a] οὕτως ἡμῖν οὔτ' ὄψον παρωσαμένοις μετεμέλησεν οὔθ' ὕδωρ ἀντὶ Φαλερίνου πιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον· οὐ μόνον οὐ προσβιαστέον ἐστὶ τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ κἂν δεομένῃ προσφέρηταί τι τῶν τοιούτων, ἐπὶ τὰ λιτὰ καὶ συνήθη πολλάκις ἀποτρεπτέον ἔθους ἕνεκα καὶ μελέτης τὴν ὄρεξιν.

εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρή,

E φησὶν ὁ Θηβαῖος οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγων,

τυραννίδος πέρι
κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν·

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[a] Repeated in more or less similar form, *Moralia*, 10 F and 514 F.

and the desires descend from the mind to the body and force it to be subservient to the mind's emotions, and to join in their excitements, there is no way to prevent their leaving as a residue the most violent and serious injuries as the aftermath of feeble and evanescent pleasures. Least of all ought the body to be stirred to pleasures by the mind's desire, since such an origin is unnatural. Just as tickling the arm-pits so affects the mind as to produce laughter which is not natural, or even mild or happy, but convulsive and harsh, so whatsoever pleasures the body achieves through being prodded and disturbed by the mind are deranging and disturbing and foreign to Nature. Whenever, then, someone of those rare and notorious means of enjoyment is afforded us, we ought to take more pride in abstinence than in enjoyment, remembering that just as Simonides [a] used to say that he had never been sorry for having kept silent, but many a time for having spoken, so we have never been sorry either for having put a dainty to one side, or for having drunk water instead of Falernian wine, but the opposite; not only ought Nature not to be forced, but if anything of this sort is offered her even when she has need of it, the appetite ought to be often diverted from it towards the plain and familiar food for the sake of habituation and training.

> If one must needs do wrong,

are the words of the Theban,[b] who is not correct in saying,

> far best it were
> To do it for a kingdom's sake.

[b] Eteocles in the *Phoenissae* of Euripides, l. 524; quoted by Plutarch also in *Moralia*, 18 D.

ἡμεῖς δὲ βέλτιον ὡς, εἴπερ φιλοδοξεῖν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐγκρατείᾳ[1] κάλλιστον ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μικρολογία καὶ γλισχρότης ἐνίους ἀναγκάζει πιέζοντας οἴκοι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ κατισχναίνοντας ἐμπίπλασθαι παρ' ἑτέροις τῶν πολυτελῶν καὶ ἀπολαύειν, καθάπερ ἐκ πολεμίας ἀφειδῶς ἐπισιτιζομένους· εἶτα κακῶς διατεθέντες ἀπίασιν, εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐφόδιον τῆς ἀπληστίας τὴν ἀπεψίαν ἔχον-
F τες. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κράτης διὰ τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν οἰόμενος οὐχ ἥκιστα τὰς στάσεις καὶ τὰς τυραννίδας ἐμφύεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσι, μετὰ παιδιᾶς παρῄνει

μὴ πρὸ φακῆς λοπάδ' αὔξων
αἰεὶ ἐς[2] στάσιν ἄμμε βάλῃς·

αὐτὸς δέ τις ἑαυτῷ παρακελευέσθω "μὴ πρὸ φακῆς λοπάδ' αὔξων αἰεὶ" μηδὲ πάντως ὑπερβαίνων τὴν καρδαμίδα καὶ τὴν ἐλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸ θρῖον καὶ τὸν ἰχθὺν εἰς στάσιν ἐκ πλησμονῆς τὸ σῶμα καὶ ταραχὰς ἐμβάλλειν καὶ διαρροίας. τὰ γὰρ εὐτελῆ κρατεῖ τὴν ὄρεξιν ἐπὶ τῶν φυσικῶν μέτρων,
126 ὀψοποιῶν δὲ τέχναι καὶ δημιουργῶν καὶ

τὰ πανοῦργα ταῦτ' ὀψάρια χὐποτρίμματα

κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν ἀεὶ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς ἡδονῆς μετατίθησιν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν καὶ παραλλάττει τὸ συμφέρον. οὐκ οἶδα δ' ὅντινα τρόπον, ἡμῶν τὰς γυναῖκας ὅσαι φίλτρα μηχανῶνται καὶ γοητείας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας βδελυττομένων καὶ δυσχεραινόντων, μισθω-

[1] ἐγκρατείᾳ Wyttenbach: ἐγκράτεια.
[2] αἰεὶ ἐς F.C.B.: εἰς Athenaeus, iv. p. 158 b: ἀεὶ ἐς.

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[a] *Cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* ii. p. 670, Crates, No. 10 or Diels, *Poet. Phil. Frag.* p. 219, Crates, No. 6.
[b] Author unknown; *cf.* Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 435.

But we can improve on this by saying that if we must needs seek repute in such matters as food and drink, "far best it were" by continence for the sake of health. Nevertheless stinginess and greediness constrain some persons, who repress and reduce their desires in their own homes, to stuff themselves and enjoy themselves with expensive things at others' houses as though they were engaged in ruthless foraging in an enemy's country; then they go away much indisposed, and for the next day they have an attack of indigestion to pay for their insatiable appetite. So Crates,[a] thinking that luxury and extravagance were as much to blame as anything for the growth of civil discords and the rule of despots in states, humorously advised:

> Do not, by always making our fare more ample than lentils,
> Throw us all into discord.

And let everybody exhort himself "not to make his fare always more ample than lentils," and by all means not to proceed beyond cress and olives to croquettes and fish, and by overeating throw "his body into discord," that is to say, into derangements and diarrhoeas. For the inexpensive things keep the appetite to its natural limits of moderation, but the arts of the chefs and their trained helpers, and, in the words of the comic poet,[b]

> These knavish dainties and these complex foods,

are constantly advancing and enlarging the bounds of enjoyment, and altering our ideas of what is good for us. I do not know how it is that, while we loathe and detest women who contrive philters and magic to use upon their husbands, we entrust

(126) τοῖς τε καὶ δούλοις προϊέμεθα τὰ σιτία καὶ τὰ ὄψα μονονοὺ μαγγανεύειν καὶ φαρμάττειν. εἰ τοίνυν καὶ πικρότερον φανεῖται τὸ τοῦ Ἀρκεσιλάου πρὸς τοὺς μοιχικοὺς καὶ ἀκολάστους εἰρημένον, "μηδὲν διαφέρειν ὄπισθέν τινα ἢ ἔμπροσθεν εἶναι κίναιδον,"
B οὐκ ἀνάρμοστόν ἐστι τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις. τί γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς διαφέρει σατύρια προσάγοντα κινεῖν καὶ παροξύνειν τὸ ἀκόλαστον ἐπὶ τὰς ἡδονάς, ἢ τὴν γεῦσιν ὀσμαῖς καὶ καρυκείαις ἐρεθίζειν ὥσπερ τὰ ψωριῶντα κνησμῶν ἀεὶ δεῖσθαι καὶ γαργαλισμῶν;

8. Ἄλλοτε μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς λεκτέον ἴσως, τὸ καλὸν καὶ σεμνὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τῆς ἐγκρατείας οἷόν ἐστι δεικνύοντας· ὁ δὲ νῦν λόγος ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐστίν. οὔτε γὰρ πράξεις οὔτ' ἐλπίδας οὔτ' ἀποδημίας οὔτε διαγωγὰς αἱ νόσοι τοσαύτας ὅσας ἡδονὰς ἡμῶν ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ
C διαφθείρουσιν. ὅθεν ἥκιστα λυσιτελεῖ καταφρονεῖν τῆς ὑγιείας τοῖς μάλιστα τὴν ἡδονὴν διώκουσι. καὶ γὰρ φιλοσοφεῖν ἀρρωστίαι πολλοῖς[1] παρέχουσι καὶ στρατηγεῖν νὴ Δία καὶ βασιλεύειν, ἡδοναὶ δὲ σωματικαὶ καὶ ἀπολαύσεις ἔνιαι μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως γένεσιν ἐν νόσῳ λαμβάνουσιν, αἱ δὲ λαμβάνουσαι βραχὺ τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ οὐ καθαρὸν ἀλλὰ συμπεφυρμένον πολλῷ τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ καὶ μεμωλωπισμένον ὥσπερ ἐκ ζάλης καὶ χειμῶνος ἀναφέρουσιν. οὐ γὰρ

ἐν πλησμοναῖς Κύπρις,

ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐν εὐδίᾳ σαρκὸς καὶ γαλήνῃ καὶ

[1] πολλοῖς Meziriacus: πολλούς.

[a] Repeated by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 705 E, in a slightly different form. *Cf.* Aulus Gellius, iii. 5.

[b] The sentiment is probably taken from Euripides; *cf.*

our food and provisions to hirelings and slaves to be all but bewitched and drugged. If the saying of Arcesilaus[a] addressed to the adulterous and licentious appears too bitter, to the effect that 'it makes no difference whether a man practises lewdness in the front parlour or in the back hall,' yet it is not without its application to our subject. For in very truth, what difference does it make whether a man employ aphrodisiacs to stir and excite licentiousness for the purposes of pleasure, or whether he stimulate his taste by odours and sauces to require, like the itch, continual scratchings and ticklings?

8. At some other time, then, it may be that we shall have to speak against pleasures, and show what an intrinsic beauty and dignity belongs to continence; but the present discourse is on the side of many pleasures and great. For diseases do not take from us and spoil for us so many of our enterprises or hopes or travels or pastimes as they do of our pleasures. Hence contempt for health is least profitable for those who make pleasure their chief aim. For infirmities allow many persons to be philosophers, or actually even generals or kings, but the pleasures and enjoyments of the body in some cases do not come to life at all in time of disease, and those that come to life yield but a brief part of what they properly should, and even that is not pure, but contaminated with much that is foreign, and marked, as it were, by the beatings of surge and storm. For it is not true that

> In well-gorged bodies Love resides,[b]

but rather in serenity and calmness of the flesh does

Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 895, and Plutarch, *Moralia*, 917 B.

(126) Κύπρις εἰς ἡδονὴν τελευτᾷ καὶ βρῶσις καὶ πόσις·
D ἡ δ' ὑγίεια ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ὥσπερ ἡ γαλήνη ταῖς ἀλκυόσιν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ καλὴν γένεσιν καὶ λοχείαν ἐνδίδωσι. κομψῶς γὰρ ἔοικεν ὁ Πρόδικος εἰπεῖν ὅτι τῶν ἡδυσμάτων ἄριστόν ἐστι τὸ πῦρ· ἀληθέστερον[1] δ'[2] ἄν τις εἴποι τὴν ὑγίειαν ἥδυσμα θειότατον εἶναι καὶ προσηνέστατον· ἑφθὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὀπτὰ καὶ πεπτὰ βρώματα νοσοῦσιν ἢ κραιπαλῶσιν ἢ ναυτιῶσιν οὐδεμίαν ἡδονὴν οὐδὲ χάριν ἀποδίδωσι, καθαρὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκραιφνὴς ὄρεξις ὑγιαίνοντι σώματι πᾶν ἡδὺ ποιεῖ καὶ "ἁρπαλέον," ὡς Ὅμηρος ἔφη, καὶ πρόσφορον.

9. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὥσπερ ὁ Δημάδης πολεμικοὺς ἀ-
E καίρως τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὄντας ἔλεγε μηδέποτε χειροτονεῖν εἰρήνην ἄνευ μελάνων ἱματίων, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐδέποτε μεμνήμεθα λιτῆς διαίτης καὶ σώφρονος ἄνευ κλύσεων[3] καὶ καταπλασμάτων· ἔν τε τούτοις γενόμενοι[4] πιέζομεν σφόδρα τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἐναπερειδόμενοι τῇ μνήμῃ καί, καθάπερ οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν μὲν ἀέρας νῦν δὲ χώρας ἐπιμεμφόμενοι νοσώδεις ἀποδημίας δεδιέναι[5] λέγουσι, ἐξαιρούμενοι τῆς αἰτίας τὴν ἀκρασίαν καὶ φιληδονίαν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ Λυσίμαχος ἐν Γέταις συσχεθεὶς δίψῃ καὶ παραδοὺς ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος
F αἰχμάλωτον εἶτα πιὼν ὕδωρ ψυχρόν, "ὦ θεοί," εἶπεν, "ὡς βραχείας ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα μεγάλην

[1] ἀληθέστερον Stobaeus, cf. 3: ἀληθέστατον, probably from the following superlatives. [2] δ' Meziriacus: γάρ.
[3] κλύσεων F.C.B.: λύσεων Kronenberg: καύσεων.
[4] γενόμενοι F.C.B.: γιγνόμενοι.
[5] δεδιέναι F.C.B.: τέ τινας.

[a] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Historia animalium*, v. 8; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 982 F.

love find its end in pleasure, as also do eating and drinking; and health affords to pleasures, as calm weather to the halcyons,[a] a safe and lovely nesting and hatching of their young. Prodicus seems to have put the matter very neatly in saying that fire is the best of sauces[b]; but one might more truly speak of health as being the most divine and agreeable sauce. For boiled, baked, or fried foods afford no proper pleasure or even gratification to those who are suffering from disease, debauch, or nausea, while a clean and unspoiled appetite makes everything, to a sound body, pleasant and "eagerly craved," as Homer has said,[c]—that is, agreeable.

9. As Demades used to say that the Athenians, who were for making war in season and out of season, never voted for peace save when wearing black, so we never give a thought to a plain and restrained way of living except when using enemas and poultices. But when we find ourselves in this plight we try hard to stifle the thought of our wrongdoings, setting ourselves against their remembrance, and, as is the way of most people who object to this or that air or this or that locality as insalubrious when they say that they dread travelling, we exclude our intemperance and self-indulgence from the cause of our illness. Nay, we should recall how Lysimachus[d] among the Getae was constrained by thirst to surrender himself and the army with him as prisoners of war, and afterwards as he drank cold water exclaimed, "My God, for what a brief pleasure have I thrown

[b] Attributed to Evenus in *Moralia*, 50 A, 697 D, and 1010 C.

[c] *Od.* viii. 164. *Cf.* also 101 C *supra*.

[d] 292 B.C.; *cf.* also *Moralia*, 183 E and 555 D. Lysimachus was one of the successors of Alexander the Great.

εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπεβαλόμην," οὕτως ἀνοιστέον ἐν ταῖς ἀρρωστίαις πρὸς αὑτοὺς ὡς διὰ ψυχροποσίαν ἢ λουτρὸν ἄκαιρον ἢ συμπεριφορὰν πολλὰς μὲν αὑτῶν διεφθείραμεν[1] ἡδονάς, καλὰς δὲ[2] πράξεις ἐπιτερπεῖς τε διαγωγὰς ἀπωλέσαμεν. ὁ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀναλογισμῶν δηγμὸς αἱμάσσει τὴν μνήμην, ὥστε οἷον οὐλὴν παραμένουσαν ἐν τῷ ὑγιαίνειν εὐλαβεστέρους ποιεῖν περὶ τὴν δίαιταν.
127 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄγαν τὸ ὑγιαῖνον σῶμα φύσει μεγάλας ἐπιθυμίας οὐδὲ δυσπειθεῖς οὐδ' ἀσυνήθεις οὐδὲ δυσεκβιάστους, ἀλλὰ δεῖ θαρρεῖν[3] πρὸς τὰς ὀρέξεις ἐκφερομένας καὶ ἐπιπηδώσας ταῖς ἀπολαύσεσιν, ὡς ἐλαφρὸν καὶ παιδικὸν ἐχούσας τὸ μεμψιμοιροῦν καὶ κλαυθμυριζόμενον, εἶτα παυομένας ἀρθείσης τῆς τραπέζης καὶ μηδὲν ἐγκαλούσας μηδ' ἀδικουμένας, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον καθαρὰς καὶ ἱλαρὰς καὶ οὐ βαρείας οὐδὲ ναυτιώδεις περιμενούσας τὴν αὔριον. ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ Τιμόθεος εἶπε τῇ
B προτεραίᾳ δεδειπνηκὼς ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ παρὰ Πλάτωνι μουσικὸν καὶ λιτὸν δεῖπνον, ὡς οἱ παρὰ Πλάτωνι δειπνήσαντες καὶ εἰς αὔριον ἡδέως γίγνονται. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰπεῖν τοὺς τῆς Ἄδας ὀψοποιοὺς ἀποπεμψάμενος ὡς ἔχει βελτίονας ἄγειν[4] ἀεὶ σὺν αὑτῷ, πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἄριστον τὴν νυκτοπορίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον τὴν ὀλιγαριστίαν.

10. Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι καὶ διὰ κόπους πυρέττου-

[1] διεφθείραμεν Reiske: διαφθείρομεν.
[2] δὲ Wyttenbach: τε.
[3] θαρρεῖν] θαρροῦντας μάχεσθαι Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, ci. 7.
[4] βελτίονας ἄγειν] βελτίονας Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, ci. 8.

[a] That this story had acquired almost a fixed phraseology in the source from which Plutarch took it may be seen

away great prosperity!" And in the same way we ought in our attacks of illness to remember that for a cold drink, an ill-timed bath, or a social party, we have spoiled many of our pleasures and have ruined many an honourable enterprise and delightful recreation. For the sting caused by such reflections keeps the memory raw, so that, like a scar that remains when the body is in health, it makes us more circumspect about our way of living. For the healthy body will not, to any immoderate extent, breed desires that are vehement, intractable, unwonted, and hard to dispossess; nay, we can boldly and confidently oppose the appetites which would fain go beyond all bounds and assault our enjoyments, knowing that their whining and whimpering is a trivial and childish manifestation, and that later, when the table is removed, they will cease repining and make no complaint nor feel themselves aggrieved, but, on the contrary, untainted and cheerful rather than dulled and nauseated by over-indulgence, await the morrow. The remark which Timotheus [a] made, the day after he had dined with Plato at the Academy on the simple fare of the scholar, is in point here: "Those who dine with Plato," he said, "get on pleasantly the next day also." And it is reported that Alexander said [b] when he discharged the chefs of Ada that he had better ones always to take with him—his night marches for breakfast, and for dinner his frugal breakfast.

10. I am not unaware that men contract fevers

by comparing this passage and Plutarch, *Moralia*, 686 A, Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ii. 18, Athenaeus, p. 419 d, and Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, v. 35 (100).

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Moralia*, 180 A, 1099 C, and *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxii. (p. 677 B).

(127) σιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ δι' ἐγκαύσεις καὶ διὰ περιψύξεις. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ αἱ τῶν ἀνθέων ὀσμαὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰς ἀσθενεῖς εἰσι, μιχθεῖσαι δὲ τῷ ἐλαίῳ ῥώμην ἴσχουσι καὶ τόνον, οὕτω ταῖς ἔξωθεν αἰτίαις καὶ
C ἀρχαῖς οἷον οὐσίαν καὶ σῶμα παρέχει τὸ πλῆθος ὑποκείμενον. ἄνευ δὲ τούτου,[1] τούτων χαλεπὸν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐξαμαυροῦνται καὶ διαχέονται ῥᾳδίως, αἵματος λεπτοῦ καὶ πνεύματος καθαροῦ δεχομένου τὴν κίνησιν· ἐν δὲ πλήθει καὶ περιττώματι οἷον ἰλὺς ἀναταραττομένη μιαρὰ ποιεῖ πάντα καὶ δυσχερῆ καὶ δυσαπάλλακτα. διὸ δεῖ μὴ καθάπερ οἱ ἀγαστοὶ[2] ναύκληροι πολλὰ δι' ἀπληστίαν ἐμβαλόμενοι, τοὐντεῦθεν ἤδη διατελοῦσιν ἀντλοῦντες καὶ ὑπεξερῶντες[3] τὴν θάλατταν, οὕτως ἐμπλήσαντας τὸ σῶμα καὶ βαρύναντας ὑποκαθαίρειν
D αὖθις καὶ ὑποκλύζειν, ἀλλὰ διατηρεῖν εὐσταλές, ὅπως, κἂν πιεσθῇ ποτε, φελλοῦ δίκην ὑπὸ κουφότητος ἀναφέρηται.

11. Μάλιστα δὲ προφυλακτέον ἐν ταῖς προπαθείαις καὶ προαισθήσεσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἅπασαι κατὰ τὸν Ἡσίοδον ἐπιφοιτῶσιν αἱ νόσοι

σιγῇ, ἐπεὶ φωνὴν ἐξείλετο μητίετα Ζεύς,

ἀλλ' αἱ πλεῖσται καθάπερ προαγγέλους καὶ προδρόμους καὶ κήρυκας ἔχουσιν ἀπεψίας καὶ δυσκινησίας. "βαρύτητες καὶ κόποι," φησὶν Ἱπποκράτης, "αὐτόματοι νοῦσον φράζουσι," διὰ πλῆθος

[1] τούτου added by Capps.
[2] ἀγαστοὶ F.C.B.: ἀγαθοί. The bit of irony escaped the copyist.
[3] ὑπεξερῶντες Kronenberg (*cf. Moralia*, 52B): ὑπεξαιροῦντες.

because of fatigue and extremes of heat and cold; but just as the scents of flowers are weak by themselves, whereas, when they are mixed with oil, they acquire strength and intensity, so a great mass of food to start with provides substance and body, as it were, for the causes and sources of disease that come from the outside. Without such material none of these things would cause any trouble, but they would readily fade away and be dissipated, if clear blood and an unpolluted spirit are at hand to meet the disturbance; but in a mass of superfluous food a sort of turbulent sediment, as it were, is stirred up, which makes everything foul and hard to manage and hard to get rid of. Therefore we must not act like those much admired (!) ship-masters who for greed take on a big cargo, and thenceforth are continually engaged in baling out the sea-water. So we must not stuff and overload our body, and afterwards employ purgatives and injections, but rather keep it all the time trim, so that, if ever it suffer depression, it shall, owing to its buoyancy, bob up again like a cork.

11. We ought to take special precautions in the case of premonitory symptoms and sensations. For what Hesiod has said [a] of the illnesses that go hither and thither assailing mankind is not true of all, that

> Silent they go, since the wisdom of Zeus has deprived them of voices,

but most of them have as their harbingers, forerunners, and heralds, attacks of indigestion and lassitude. "Feelings of heaviness or of fatigue," says Hippocrates,[b] "when due to no external cause,

[a] *Works and Days*, 104, quoted more fully *supra*, 105 E.
[b] *Aphorisms*, ii. 5 (ed. Chartier, 38, 43, Kühn, iii. p. 712).

ὡς ἔοικεν ἐντὸς διάτασιν καὶ σφήνωσιν τοῦ περὶ
E τὰ νεῦρα πνεύματος ἔχοντος. ἀλλ' ὅμως αὐτοῦ μονονουχὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀντιτείνοντος καὶ κατασπῶντος ἐπὶ τὸ κλινίδιον καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ λαιμαργίας καὶ φιληδονίας ἐμβάλλουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ βαλανεῖα καὶ σπεύδουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς προπόσεις, ὥσπερ εἰς πολιορκίαν ἐπισιτιζόμενοι καὶ δεδιότες μὴ φθάσῃ καταλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ὁ πυρετὸς ἀναρίστους, οἱ δὲ κομψότεροι ταύτῃ μὲν οὐχ ἁλίσκονται, πάνυ δ' ἀβελτέρως αἰσχυνόμενοι κραιπάλην ἢ ἀπεψίαν ὁμολογεῖν καὶ διημερεύειν ἐν ἱματίοις, ἑτέρων εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον βαδιζόντων καὶ παρακαλούντων, ἀναστάντες συναποδύονται
F καὶ ταὐτὰ πράττουσι τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσι. τοὺς δὲ πλείους ἀκρασίᾳ καὶ μαλακίᾳ[1] συνήγορον ἔχουσα παροιμίαν ἐλπὶς ἀναπείθει καὶ προάγεται βαδίζειν ἀναστάντας ἰταμῶς ἐπὶ τὴν συνήθειαν, ὡς οἴνῳ δὴ τὸν οἶνον κραιπάλῃ δὲ τὴν κραιπάλην[2] ἐξελῶντας καὶ διαφορήσοντας.[3] πρὸς μὲν οὖν ταύτην τὴν ἐλπίδα τὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος εὐλάβειαν ἀντιτακτέον
128 ἣν φησιν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀνὴρ "τὰ μὲν μεγάλα μικρὰ ποιεῖν τὰ δὲ μικρὰ παντελῶς ἀναιρεῖν," καὶ ὅτι κρεῖττον ἔνδειαν ὑπομεῖναι διὰ κενῆς καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἢ διακυβεῦσαι πρὸς λουτρὸν ὠσαμένους καὶ

[1] ἀκρασίᾳ καὶ μαλακίᾳ F.C.B.: ἀκρασίας καὶ μαλακίας Erasmus: ἀκρασία καὶ μαλακία.

[2] Kock, *Comic. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 494, extracts an iambic trimeter from the words of this proverb.

[3] ἐξελῶντας καὶ διαφορήσοντας Wyttenbach, and one ms. correction: ἐξελόντας καὶ διαφορήσαντας.

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[a] "Similia similibus curentur." The proverb has not been handed down in this form, but Plutarch may have in mind the proverb found in Pollux, ix. 120 (see Kock, *Com.*

indicate disease," since, presumably, the spirit about the nerves is subjected to tension and pressure owing to fullness within the body. Nevertheless, some men, although their body itself all but resists and would fain drag them to their beds and their rest, are led by gluttony and self-indulgence to rush off to the baths and eagerly to join in the drinking-bouts, as if they were laying in provisions for a siege and were fearful lest the fever seize them before they have had luncheon. Others, less gross than these, are not indeed caught in this folly, but very stupidly, just because they are ashamed to admit having a headache or indigestion, and to keep their clothes on all day, when a crowd on their way to the gymnasium invite them to come along, they get up and go, strip with the others, and go through the same exercises as do those who are in sound health. But as for the majority, Hope, backed by a proverb which well accords with incontinence and weakness of purpose, persuades and induces them to get up and go recklessly to their accustomed haunts, thinking to expel and dispel wine with wine, and headache with headache.[a] Against this hope should be set Cato's caution which that grand old man phrased in this way[b]: "Make the great small, and abolish the small altogether"; also the thought that it is better to submit patiently to fasting and resting with nothing to show for it, rather than to take any chances by rushing pell-mell to a bath or a dinner. For if there

Att. Frag. iii. p. 500, and his notes, especially the reference to Athenaeus, 44 a): "Nail with nail and peg with peg" (a man drives out). Slightly different versions may be found in Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ii. pp. 116 and 171.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 825 D.

(128) δεῖπνον. εἰ μὲν γάρ ἔστι τι, βλάψει τὸ μὴ φυλάξασθαι μηδ' ἐπισχεῖν· εἰ δὲ μηδέν, οὐ βλάψει τὸ συσταλῆναι τῷ σώματι καὶ γενέσθαι καθαρώτερον. ὁ δὲ παιδαριώδης ἐκεῖνος καὶ τοῖς φίλοις δεδιὼς καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις φανερὸς γενέσθαι διακείμενος ἐκ πλησμονῆς ἢ κραιπάλης ἀηδῶς, αἰσχυνόμενος ἀπεψίαν ὁμολογῆσαι τήμερον, αὔριον ὁμολογήσει κατάρροιαν ἢ πυρετὸν ἢ στρόφον·

αἰσχυνόμενος αἴσχιστα πενίαν ἂν[1] φέροις,

B πολὺ δ' αἴσχιον ἀπεψίαν καὶ βαρύτητα καὶ πλησμονὴν σώματος εἰς βαλανεῖον ἑλκομένου καθάπερ εἰς θάλατταν σαθροῦ πλοίου καὶ μὴ στέγοντος. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀμέλει πλέοντες ἔνιοι χειμῶνος ὄντος αἰδοῦνται διατρίβειν ἐπ' ἀκτῆς, εἶτ' ἀναχθέντες αἴσχιστα διάκεινται βοῶντες καὶ ναυτιῶντες, οὕτως ἐν ὑποψίᾳ καὶ προπαθείᾳ σώματος ἀγεννὲς ἡγούμενοι μίαν ἡμέραν ἐν κλίνῃ διάγειν καὶ μὴ παραθέσθαι τράπεζαν, αἴσχιστα πολλὰς ἡμέρας κεῖνται καθαιρόμενοι καὶ καταπλαττόμενοι καὶ θωπεύοντες ἰατροὺς καὶ θεραπεύοντες, οἶνον αἰτοῦντες ἢ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ, ἄτοπα C καὶ ἀγεννῆ πολλὰ ποιεῖν καὶ φθέγγεσθαι διὰ τὸν πόνον καὶ τὸν φόβον ὑπομένοντες.

Καὶ μὴν τούς γε διὰ τὰς ἡδονὰς μὴ κρατοῦντας ἑαυτῶν ἀλλ' ἐγκλίνοντας ἢ φερομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν καλῶς ἔχει διδάσκειν καὶ ἀναμιμνῄσκειν ὅτι πλεῖστον ἐκ τοῦ σώματος αἱ ἡδοναὶ λαμβάνουσι· (12) καὶ καθάπερ οἱ Λάκωνες ὄξος καὶ ἅλας

[1] ἂν added by Porson.

is anything the matter with us, failure to take proper precaution and to put a check on ourselves will do us harm ; and if nothing is the matter, it will do no harm for the body to be subjected to some restrictions and cleared of some of its encumbrances. But that childish person who is afraid to let his friends and servants discover that he is in a state of discomfort from excessive eating or drinking, will, if he is ashamed to admit having indigestion to-day, tomorrow admit having diarrhoea or fever or gripes.

The shame of want makes want a shame to bear,[a]

but much more is it a shame to bear indigestion, overloading, and overfullness in a body which is dragged to the bath like a rotten and leaky boat into the sea. For just exactly as some persons, when they are voyaging and a storm is raging, are ashamed to tarry on shore, and so they put out to sea, and then are in most shameful case, shrieking and sea-sick, so those who regard it as ignoble, amidst suspicious premonitory symptoms of their body, to spend one day in bed, and not to take their meals at table, keep to their bed most shamefully for many days, under purging and poulticing, servile and attentive to physicians, asking for wine or cold water, and suffering themselves to do and to utter many extravagant and ignoble things because of their distress and fear.

Moreover, it is well that those who because of pleasures fail in self-control, and give way to their desires or are carried away by them, should be instructed and reminded that pleasures derive most of their satisfaction from the body ; (12) and as the Spartans give to the cook vinegar and salt only,

[a] From an unknown play of Menander ; *cf.* Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 220.

(128) διδόντες τῷ μαγείρῳ τὰ λοιπὰ κελεύουσιν ἐν τῷ ἱερείῳ ζητεῖν, οὕτως ἐν τῷ σώματι τοῦ προσφερομένου τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἡδυσμάτων ἐστίν, ἄνπερ ὑγιαίνοντι καὶ καθαρῷ προσφέρηται. γλυκὺ μὲν γὰρ ἢ πολυτελὲς ἔξω καὶ καθ' αὑτὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἕκαστόν ἐστιν, ἡδὺ δὲ πέφυκεν ἐν τῷ ἡδομένῳ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἡδομένου γίγνεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν
D ἔχοντος· ἐν δὲ δυσαρέστοις καὶ κραιπαλῶσι καὶ φαύλως διακειμένοις πάντα τὴν αὑτῶν χάριν καὶ ὥραν ἀπόλλυσι. διὸ δεῖ μὴ σκοπεῖν τὸν ἰχθὺν εἰ πρόσφατος, μηδὲ τὸν ἄρτον εἰ καθαρός, μηδὲ τὸ βαλανεῖον εἰ θερμόν, μηδὲ τὴν ἑταίραν εἰ εὔμορφος, ἀλλ' αὑτὸν εἰ μὴ ναυτιώδης μηδὲ θολερὸς μηδ' ἕωλος μηδὲ τεταραγμένος. εἰ δὲ μή, καθάπερ εἰς οἰκίαν πενθοῦσαν ἐμβαλόντες ἐπίκωμοι μεθύοντες οὐ φιλοφροσύνην παρέσχον οὐδ' ἡδονὴν ἀλλὰ κλαυθμοὺς καὶ ὀδυρμοὺς[1]
E ἐποίησαν, οὕτω καὶ ἀφροδίσια καὶ ὄψα καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ οἶνος ἐν σώματι κακῶς καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ἔχοντι μιγνύμενα τοῖς μὴ καθεστῶσι καὶ διεφθορόσι φλέγμα καὶ χολὴν κινεῖ καὶ ταράττει καὶ προσεξίστησιν, ἡδὺ δ' οὐδὲν ἀξιολόγως οὐδ' ἀπολαυστικὸν οὐδὲν οἷον προσεδοκήσαμεν ἀποδίδωσιν.

13. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀκριβὴς σφόδρα καὶ δι' ὄνυχος λεγομένη δίαιτα τό τε σῶμα κομιδῇ ψοφοδεὲς παρέχεται καὶ σφαλερόν, αὐτῆς τε[2] τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ γαῦρον κολούει πάντα πράγματα καὶ πᾶσαν οὐχ ἧττον

[1] κλαυθμοὺς καὶ ὀδυρμοὺς Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, ci. 9: κλαυθμούς.
[2] τε Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, ci. 10: δέ.

bidding him seek whatever else he needs in the slaughtered animal itself,[a] so in the body are the best of sauces for whatever is served, if so be that it is served to a body which is healthy and clean. For everything of this sort is "sweet" or "costly" irrespectively of the user and by itself, but Nature decrees that it becomes "pleasant" only in and in connexion with the person that is pleased and is in harmony with Nature; but in those who are captious or suffering from a debauch, or are in a bad way, all things lose their intrinsic agreeableness and freshness. Therefore there is no need to look to see whether the fish be fresh, the bread white, the bath warm, or the girl shapely, but a man should look to himself to see whether he be not nauseated, feculent, stale, or in any way upset. Otherwise, just as drunken revellers who force their way into a house of mourning provide no cheerfulness or pleasure, but only cause weeping and wailing, so in a body that is in a bad condition and out of harmony with Nature, the pleasures of love, elaborate food, baths and wine, when combined with such elements in the body as are unsettled and tainted, set up phlegm and bile and bring on an upset, besides being unduly exciting, while they yield no pleasure to speak of, nor any enjoyment like what we expected.

13. The very exact mode of living, "exact to a hair's breadth," to use the popular expression,[b] puts the body in a timorous and precarious state, and abridges the self-respect of the soul itself, so that it comes to look askance at every activity, and to no less

[a] A humorous turn is given to this custom in the anecdote related by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 995 B.

[b] See the note on 86 A in Vol. I.

ἐν ἡδοναῖς καὶ πόνοις διατριβὴν καὶ πρᾶξιν ὑφορωμένης καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἰταμῶς καὶ θαρραλέως F βαδιζούσης. δεῖ δ' ὥσπερ ἱστίον τὸ σῶμα μήτε συστέλλειν εὐδίας οὔσης καὶ πιέζειν σφόδρα, μήτ' ἀνειμένως χρῆσθαί τε καὶ καταφρονεῖν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ γενόμενον.[1] ἀλλ' ἐνδιδόναι καὶ ποιεῖν ἐλαφρὸν ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καὶ μὴ περιμένειν ἀπεψίας καὶ διαρροίας μηδὲ θερμασίας μηδὲ νάρκας, ὑφ' ὧν ἔνιοι μόλις ὥσπερ ὑπ' ἀγγέλων ἢ κλητόρων, πυρετοῦ 129 περὶ θύρας ὄντος ἤδη, θορυβούμενοι συστέλλουσιν ἑαυτούς, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν ἐξευλαβεῖσθαι

πρὸ χείματος, ὥστ' ἀνὰ ποντίαν ἄκραν
βορέα[2] πνέοντος.

14. Ἄτοπον γάρ ἐστι κοράκων μὲν λαρυγγισμοῖς καὶ κλωσμοῖς ἀλεκτορίδων καὶ "συσὶν ἐπὶ φορυτῷ μαργαινούσαις," ὡς ἔφη Δημόκριτος, ἐπιμελῶς προσέχειν, σημεῖα ποιουμένους πνευμάτων καὶ ὄμβρων, τὰ δὲ τοῦ σώματος κινήματα καὶ σάλους καὶ προπαθείας μὴ προλαμβάνειν μηδὲ προφυλάττειν, μηδ' ἔχειν σημεῖα χειμῶνος ἐν ἑαυτῷ γενησομένου καὶ μέλλοντος. ὅθεν οὐ περὶ τροφὴν μόνον οὐδὲ γυμνάσια δεῖ φυλάττειν τὸ σῶμα μὴ παρὰ τὸ B εἰωθὸς ἅπτεται τούτων ὀκνηρῶς καὶ ἀπροθύμως ἢ πάλιν διψῶδές ἐστι καὶ πειναλέον ὡς οὐ πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὕπνων τὸ μὴ συνεχὲς μηδὲ λεῖον

[1] γενόμενον Stobaeus, *ibid.*: γινόμενον.
[2] βορέα Bergk: βορρᾶ.

[a] Author unknown; *cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 721. *Cf.* also *Moralia*, 455 A, and 503 A.
[b] Theophrastus, *De signis*, 49, lists this phenomenon among the signs of a coming storm.

a degree at spending any time or participating at all in pleasures or labours, and goes at no undertaking with readiness and confidence. A man ought to handle his body like the sail of a ship, and neither lower and reduce it much when no cloud is in sight, nor be slack and careless in managing it when he comes to suspect something is wrong, but he should rather ease the body off and lighten its load, as has already been said, and not wait for indigestions and diarrhoeas, nor heightened temperatures nor fits of drowsiness. And yet some people wait until a fever is already at their doors and then, being as excited as if a message or a summons to court had come, just manage to restrict themselves; whereas they ought, while these things are still afar off, to be cautious

> Before the storm, as though along the strand
> The North wind blew.[a]

14. For it is absurd to give careful heed to the croaking of ravens, the clucking of hens, and "swine in their wild excitement over bedding,"[b] as Democritus[c] put it, making signs of winds and rains out of these, and at the same time not to forestall nor take precaution against the stirrings, the ups and downs, and the premonitory symptoms in the body, and not to hold these to be signs of a storm that is going to take place in one's self, and is just about to break. Wherefore not merely in the matter of food and exercise do we need to keep watch of our body, to see whether, contrary to its habits, it takes to these reluctantly and without zest, or at another time is thirsty and hungry in an unnatural way, but also, in the matter of sleep, to beware of lack of

[c] Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, ii. p. 88.

(129) ἀλλ' ἀνωμαλίας ἔχον καὶ διασπασμοὺς εὐλαβεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐνυπνίων τὴν ἀτοπίαν, ἄνπερ ὦσι μὴ νόμιμοι μηδὲ συνήθεις αἱ φαντασίαι, πλῆθος ἢ πάχος ὑγρῶν ἢ πνεύματος[1] ταραχὴν ἐντὸς κατηγοροῦσαν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς κινήματα τὸ σῶμα μηνύει πρὸς νόσον ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχειν. ἄλογοι γὰρ ἴσχουσιν ἀθυμίαι καὶ φόβοι πολλάκις ἀπ'
C οὐδενὸς φανεροῦ, τὰς ἐλπίδας ἄφνω κατασβεννύουσαι· γίγνονται δὲ καὶ ταῖς ὀργαῖς ἐπίχολοι καὶ ὀξεῖς καὶ μικρόλυποι, καὶ δακρυρροοῦσι καὶ ἀδημονοῦσιν ὅταν ἀτμοὶ πονηροὶ καὶ ἀναθυμιάσεις πικραὶ συνιστάμεναι "ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς," ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἀνακραθῶσι "περιόδοις." διὸ δεῖ σκοπεῖν οἷς ἂν ταῦτα συμπίπτῃ καὶ μνημονεύειν, ἂν μηδὲν ᾖ πνευματικόν, ὅτι σωματικόν ἐστιν αἴτιον ὑποστολῆς τινος ἢ κατακράσεως δεόμενον.

15. Χρήσιμον δὲ πάνυ καὶ τὸ τοὺς φίλους ἐπι-
D σκεπτόμενον ἀσθενοῦντας ἐκπυνθάνεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας, μὴ σοφιστικῶς μηδὲ περιέργως ἐνστάσεις καὶ παρεμπτώσεις καὶ κοινότητας λαλοῦντα καὶ παρεπιδεικνύμενον ἰατρικῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ γραμμάτων ἐμπειρίαν, ἀλλὰ ταυτὶ τὰ φαῦλα καὶ κοινὰ μὴ παρέργως ἀκούοντα, πλῆθος ἡλίωσιν[2] κόπον ἀγρυπνίαν, μάλιστα δὲ δίαιταν ᾗ χρώμενος ἐπύρεξεν. εἶθ' ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἁμαρτήμασιν εἰώθει λέγειν ἀπιών "μή που ἄρα καὶ ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος;" οὕτω τὰ περὶ αὑτὸν ἐν τοῖς πλησίον εὖ τίθεσθαι, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι καὶ μνημονεύειν ὅπως

[1] πνεύματος Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, ci. 11: πνευμάτων.
[2] ἡλίωσιν Erasmus: ἢ λείωσιν.

[a] *Timaeus*, p. 47 D.
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 40 D, 88 E, and 463 E.

continuity and of evenness, marked by irregularities and sharp interruptions, and to beware also of the abnormal in dreams, which, if so be that our visions are improper or unwonted, argues an over-abundance or concretion of humours, or a disturbance of spirit within us. And also the emotions of the soul have often given warning that the body is perilously near disease. For instance, irrational discouragements and fears take possession of people oftentimes from no apparent cause, and suddenly extinguish their hopes; in temper they become irascible, sharp, and pained at trifles, and they are tearful and dismayed whenever bad vapours and bitter exhalations encounter and unite with the "rotations of the soul," as Plato[a] has it. Therefore those to whom such things happen have need to consider and to remember that, if the cause is not one which concerns the spirit, it is one which concerns the body, and that it needs reducing or toning down.

15. It is very profitable when visiting sick friends to inquire of them the causes of their illness, not by talking pedantically and officiously about stoppages, irruptions, and trite generalities, and incidentally displaying some acquaintance with medical terminology and literature, but by listening in no perfunctory way to these homely and common details of overeating, exposure to the sun, fatigue, sleeplessness, and especially the manner of living which the man was following when he fell sick of the fever. Then, like Plato, who, on his way home, was accustomed to say on the subject of others' faults, "Am not I too possibly like them?"[b] a man ought to correct in himself the faults he observes in his neighbours, and be watchful and mindful not to become involved in

E οὐ περιπεσεῖται τοῖς αὐτοῖς οὐδ' αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν
κλίνην καταπεσὼν ὑμνήσει ποθῶν τὴν πολυτίμητον
ὑγίειαν, ἀλλ' ἑτέρου πάσχοντος ἐνσημανεῖται πρὸς
ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἄξιον πολλοῦ τὸ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ δεῖ τοῦτο
διατηρεῖν αὑτῷ προσέχοντα καὶ φειδόμενον. οὐ
χεῖρον δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν παρεπισκοπεῖν δίαιταν·
ἂν γὰρ ἐν πόσεσι καὶ προσφοραῖς ἤ τισι πόνοις
καὶ ἀταξίαις ἑτέραις τυγχάνωμεν γεγονότες, τὸ δὲ
σῶμα μηδεμίαν ὑποψίαν παρέχῃ μηδὲ προαίσθη-
σιν, ὅμως αὐτοὺς δεῖ φυλάττεσθαι καὶ προκατα-
λαμβάνειν ἐκ μὲν ἀφροδισίων καὶ κόπων ὄντας
ἀναπαύσει καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ, μετὰ δ' οἴνωσιν καὶ συμπερι-
F φορὰν ὑδροποσίᾳ, μάλιστα δὲ τροφαῖς κεχρημένους
ἐμβριθέσι καὶ κρεώδεσιν ἢ ποικίλαις ὀλιγοσιτεῖν
καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολείπειν περιττώματος πλῆθος ἐν τῷ
σώματι. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ ταῦτα δι' αὑτὰ πολλῶν
αἴτια νόσων ἐστί, καὶ προστίθησι ταῖς ἄλλαις
αἰτίαις ὕλην καὶ δύναμιν. ὅθεν ἄριστα λέλεκται
"τροφῆς ἀκορίην καὶ πόνων ἀοκνίην καὶ σπέρματος
130 οὐσίης συντήρησιν ὑγιεινότατα εἶναι." καὶ γὰρ ἡ
περὶ τὰς συνουσίας ἀκρασία τῷ μάλιστα τὴν δύ-
ναμιν ἐκλύειν ὑφ' ἧς ἡ τροφὴ διαπονεῖται, πλέον
περίττωμα ποιεῖ καὶ πλῆθος.

16. Αὖθις οὖν ἀναλαβόντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς περὶ ἑκάστου, πρῶτον δὲ περὶ γυμνασίων φιλολόγοις ἁρμοζόντων λέγωμεν ὅτι ὥσπερ ὁ φήσας μηδὲν γράφειν παραθαλαττίοις περὶ ὀλκάδων[1] ἐδίδαξε τὴν χρείαν,

[1] ὀλκάδων F.C.B.: τριοδόντων ? Bernardakis: ὄψων Sieveking: ὀδόντων.

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 732 E.

[b] Probably based on Hippocrates: *cf.* Hippocrates, *Epidemics*, vi. 4. 20 (ed. Chartier, 9, 500, Kühn, iii. p. 605).

the same difficulties, and be himself compelled to take to his bed, and there give voice to his yearnings for precious health, but rather, when another is undergoing this experience, he will impress upon himself how valuable a thing is health, and that he ought to try to preserve this by giving heed to himself, and by being frugal. It is not a bad thing, either, to take a look at our own way of living; for if we have been engaged in a bout of drinking and eating, or in some hardships and other irregularities, and the body presents no suspicious or premonitory symptoms, nevertheless we ought to be watchful of ourselves and forestall any trouble by means of rest and quiet when fresh from the pleasures of love, or when fatigued; also by drinking water after the free use of wine and after social gaiety, and especially, after indulging in a heavy diet of meat or multifarious foods, to eat lightly, and leave no mass of superfluous residue in the body. For these very things are of themselves the causes of many diseases, and they add material and potency to the other causes.[a] Wherefore it has been very well said, "Eating not unto satiety, labouring not unto weariness, and observance of chastity, are the most healthful things."[b] For incontinence, by undermining especially the powers by which the food is assimilated, causes further superfluity and overcrowding.

16. Let us now take up each topic anew once more; and in the first place, on the subject of exercises suitable for scholars, we beg to remark that one might follow the example of the man who, by saying that he had nothing to write for people dwelling by the sea on the subject of ships, showed clearly that they were in use; and so in the same way one

(130) *οὕτω καὶ φιλολόγοις φαίη τις ἂν μὴ γράφειν περὶ γυμνασίων. ἡ γὰρ καθ' ἡμέραν τοῦ λόγου χρεία διὰ φωνῆς περαινομένη θαυμαστὸν οἷόν ἐστι γυμνάσιον οὐ μόνον πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἰσχύν,*
B *οὐ παλαιστικὴν οὐδὲ σαρκοῦσαν καὶ πυκνοῦσαν τὰ ἐκτὸς ὥσπερ οἰκοδομήματος, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ζωτικωτάτοις καὶ κυριωτάτοις μέρεσι ῥώμην ἐνδιάθετον καὶ τόνον ἀληθινὸν ἐμποιοῦσαν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἰσχὺν ἐνδίδωσι*[1] *τὸ πνεῦμα, δηλοῦσιν οἱ ἀλεῖπται, τοὺς ἀθλητὰς κελεύοντες ἀντερείδειν ταῖς τρίψεσι καὶ παρεγκόπτειν*[2] *τείνοντας*[3] *ἀεὶ τὰ πλαττόμενα μέρη καὶ ψηλαφώμενα τοῦ σώματος· ἡ δὲ φωνή, τοῦ πνεύματος οὖσα κίνησις, οὐκ ἐπιπολαίως ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν πηγαῖς περὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα ῥωννυμένη, τὸ θερμὸν αὔξει καὶ λεπτύνει τὸ αἷμα, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν*
C *ἐκκαθαίρει φλέβα, πᾶσαν δ' ἀρτηρίαν ἀνοίγει, σύστασιν δὲ καὶ πῆξιν ὑγρότητος οὐκ ἐᾷ περιττωματικῆς ὥσπερ ὑποστάθμην ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς τὴν τροφὴν παραλαμβάνουσι καὶ κατεργαζομένοις ἀγγείοις. διὸ δεῖ μάλιστα ποιεῖν ἑαυτοὺς τούτῳ τῷ γυμνασίῳ συνήθεις καὶ συντρόφους ἐνδελεχῶς λέγοντας, ἂν δ' ᾖ τις ὑποψία τοῦ σώματος ἐνδεέστερον ἢ κοπωδέστερον ἔχοντος, ἀναγιγνώσκοντας ἢ ἀναφωνοῦντας. ὅπερ γὰρ αἰώρα πρὸς γυμνάσιόν ἐστι, τοῦτο πρὸς διάλεξιν ἀνάγνωσις, ὥσπερ ἐπ' ὀχήματος ἀλλοτρίου λόγου κινοῦσα μαλακῶς καὶ διαφοροῦσα πράως τὴν φωνήν. ἡ δὲ διάλεξις ἀγῶνα καὶ σφοδρότητα προστίθησιν, ἅμα τῆς*
D *ψυχῆς τῷ σώματι συνεπιτιθεμένης. κραυγὰς μέντοι περιπαθεῖς καὶ σπαραγμώδεις εὐλαβητέον· αἱ*

[1] *ἰσχὺν* Meziriacus, *ἐνδίδωσι* F.C.B.: *ἰσχύειν δίδωσι.*
[2] *παρεγκόπτειν*] *παρεγκάπτειν* Madvig.

might say that he was not writing for scholars on the subject of exercise. For it is wonderful what an exercise is the daily use of the voice in speaking aloud, conducing, not only to health, but also to strength—not the strength of the wrestler which lays on flesh and makes the exterior solid like the walls of a building, but a strength which engenders an all-pervasive vigour and a real energy in the most vital and dominant parts. That breathing gives strength the athletic trainers make clear in telling the athletes to brace themselves against the rubbing and stop their breath meantime, and keep tense the portions of the body that are being kneaded and massaged. Now the voice is a movement of the breath, and if it be given vigour, not in the throat, but, as it were, at its source in the lungs, it increases the warmth, tones down the blood, clears out every vein, opens every artery, and does not permit of any concretion or solidifying of superfluous fluid like a sediment to take place in the containing organs which take over and digest the food. For this reason we ought especially to make ourselves habituated and used to this exercise by continual speaking, or, if there be any suspicion that our body is not quite up to the mark or is somewhat fatigued, then by reading aloud or declaiming. For reading stands in the same relation to discussion as riding in a carriage to active exercise, and as though upon the vehicle of another's words it moves softly, and carries the voice gently this way and that. But discussion adds contention and vehemence, as the mind joins in the encounter along with the body. We must, however, be cautious about passionate and convulsive vociferations. For

[3] *τείνοντας* Meziriacus: *τηροῦντας*.

(130) γὰρ ἀνώμαλοι προβολαὶ[1] καὶ διατάσεις τοῦ πνεύματος ῥήγματα καὶ σπάσματα ποιοῦσιν.

Ἀναγνόντα δ' ἢ διαλεχθέντα λιπαρᾷ καὶ ἀλεεινῇ τρίψει χρηστέον πρὸ τοῦ περιπάτου καὶ μαλάξει τῆς σαρκός, ὡς ἀνυστόν[2] ἐστι, τῶν σπλάγχνων ποιούμενον ἁφὴν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα πράως διομαλύνοντα καὶ διαχέοντα μέχρι τῶν ἄκρων. μέτρον δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῆς τρίψεως ἔστω τὸ προσφιλὲς τῇ
E αἰσθήσει καὶ ἄλυπον. ὁ γὰρ οὕτω καταστήσας τὴν ἐν βάθει ταραχὴν καὶ διάτασιν τοῦ πνεύματος, ἀλύπῳ τε χρῆται τῷ περιττώματι, κἂν ἀκαιρία τις ἢ χρεία κωλύσῃ τὸν περίπατον, οὐδέν ἐστι πρᾶγμα· τὸ γὰρ οἰκεῖον ἡ φύσις ἀπείληφεν. ὅθεν οὔτε πλοῦν ποιητέον οὔτε καταγωγὴν ἐν πανδοκείῳ σιγῆς πρόφασιν, οὐδ' ἂν πάντες καταγελῶσιν. ὅπου γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν τὸ φαγεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸ γυμνάζεσθαι δήπουθεν αἰσχρόν· ἀλλ' αἴσχιον τὸ δεδοικέναι καὶ δυσωπεῖσθαι ναύτας καὶ ὀρεωκόμους καὶ πανδοκεῖς καταγελῶντας οὐ τοῦ σφαιρίζοντος
F καὶ σκιαμαχοῦντος ἀλλὰ τοῦ λέγοντος, ἂν ἅμα διδάσκῃ τι καὶ ζητῇ καὶ μανθάνῃ καὶ ἀναμιμνῄσκηται γυμναζόμενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν ὅτι τῷ κινοῦντι δι' ὀρχήσεως αὑτὸν ἑπτάκλινος οἶκος ἱκανός ἐστιν ἐγγυμνάζεσθαι, τῷ δὲ δι' ᾠδῆς ἢ λόγου γυμναζομένῳ γυμνάσιον ἀποχρῶν[3] καὶ ἑστῶτι καὶ κατακειμένῳ πᾶς τόπος παρέχει. μόνον ἐκεῖνο φυλακτέον, ὅπως μήτε πλησμονὴν μήτε λαγνείαν

[1] προβολαὶ Salmasius: προσβολαί.
[2] ἀνυστόν Stephanus: ἀνοιστόν.
[3] γυμναζομένῳ γυμνάσιον ἀποχρῶν Wyttenbach: γυμνάσιον ἀπόχρη γυμναζομένῳ.

spasmodic expulsion and straining of the breath produces ruptures and sprains.

After reading or discussion, before going to walk, one should make use of rubbing with oil in a warm room to render the flesh supple, extending the massage so far as practicable to the inward parts, and gently equalizing the vital spirit and diffusing it into the extremities. Let the limits of the amount of this rubbing be what is agreeable to the senses and not discomforting. For the man who thus composes the inward disquiet and tension in his vital spirit manages the superfluous in his body without discomfort, and if unfavourable weather or some engagement prevent his going to walk, it does not matter, for Nature has received her proper due. Wherefore neither travelling nor stopping at an inn ought to be made an excuse for silence, nor even if everybody there deride one. For where it is not disgraceful to eat it is certainly not disgraceful to take exercise; nay, it is more disgraceful to feel timid and embarrassed before sailors, muleteers, and innkeepers, who do not deride the man who plays ball and goes through the movements of sparring alone, but the man who speaks, even though in his exercises he instruct, question, learn, and use his memory. Socrates said [a] that for a man's movements in dancing a room that would accommodate seven persons at dinner was large enough to take exercise in, but for a man who takes his exercise through singing or speaking every place affords him adequate room for this exercise both when standing up and when lying down. But we must observe this one caution—not to strain our voices too hard

[a] Xenophon, *Symposium*, 2. 18.

μήτε κόπον ἑαυτοῖς συνειδότες ἐντεινώμεθα τῇ
131 φωνῇ τραχύτερον, ὃ πάσχουσι πολλοὶ τῶν ῥητόρων καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ δόξης καὶ φιλοτιμίας, οἱ δὲ διὰ μισθοὺς ἢ πολιτικὰς ἁμίλλας ἐξαγόμενοι παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἀγωνίζεσθαι. Νίγρος δ' ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐν Γαλατίᾳ σοφιστεύων ἄκανθαν ἐτύγχανεν ἰχθύος καταπεπωκώς. ἑτέρου δ' ἐπιφανέντος ἔξωθεν σοφιστοῦ καὶ μελετῶντος, ὀρρωδῶν ὑφειμένου δόξαν παρασχεῖν, ἔτι τῆς ἀκάνθης ἐνισχομένης ἐμελέτησε· μεγάλης δὲ φλεγμονῆς καὶ σκληρᾶς γενομένης, τὸν πόνον οὐ φέρων ἀνεδέξατο
B τομὴν ἔξωθεν βαθεῖαν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἄκανθα διὰ τοῦ τραύματος ἐξῃρέθη, τὸ δὲ τραῦμα χαλεπὸν γενόμενον καὶ ῥευματικὸν ἀνεῖλεν αὐτόν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἄν τις ὕστερον εὐκαίρως ὑπομνήσειε.

17. Λουτρῷ δὲ χρῆσθαι γυμνασαμένους ψυχρῷ μὲν ἐπιδεικτικὸν καὶ νεανικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑγιεινόν ἐστιν. ἣν γὰρ δοκεῖ ποιεῖν δυσπάθειαν πρὸς τὰ ἔξω καὶ σκληρότητα τοῦ σώματος, αὕτη μεῖζον ἀπεργάζεται περὶ τὰ ἐντὸς κακόν, ἐνισταμένη τοῖς πόροις καὶ τὰ ὑγρὰ συνάγουσα καὶ πηγνύουσα τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις ἀεὶ χαλᾶσθαι καὶ διαφορεῖσθαι βουλομένας. ἔτι δ' ἀνάγκη τοὺς ψυχρολουτοῦντας εἰς
C ἐκείνην αὖθις μεταβαίνειν ἣν φεύγομεν ἀκριβῆ καὶ τεταγμένην ἀποτόμως δίαιταν, ἀεὶ προσέχοντας αὐτοῖς μὴ παραβαίνειν ταύτην, ὡς εὐθὺς ἐξελεγχομένου πικρῶς παντὸς ἁμαρτήματος. ἡ δὲ θερμολουσία δίδωσι πολλὴν[1] συγγνώμην. οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον εὐτονίας ὑφαιρεῖ καὶ ῥώμης, ὅσον ὠφελεῖ

[1] πολλὴν Reiske: πολλῷ.

[a] Perhaps *infra*, 135 D.

when we are conscious of a fullness, venery, or fatigue. This is the experience of many of the public speakers and sophists, some of whom are led on by repute and ambition, others on account of emoluments or political rivalries, to competition in excess of what is best for them. Our Niger, when he was giving public lectures in Galatia, happened to swallow a fish bone. But, as another sophist from abroad had made his appearance and was lecturing, Niger, dreading to give the impression that he had yielded to his rival, still lectured although the bone was sticking in his throat; unable to bear the distress from the great and stubborn inflammation that arose, he submitted to a deep incision from the outside, and through the opening the bone was removed; but the place grew sore and purulent and caused his death. But comment on these matters may well be postponed to a later occasion.[a]

17. To take a cold bath after exercising is ostentatious and juvenile rather than healthful. For the power of resistance to external influences and the hardiness which it seems to create in the body really produces a more evil effect on the inward parts by stopping up the pores, causing the fluids to collect together, and condensing the exudations which are always wanting to be released and dispersed. Besides, those who insist upon taking cold baths have to make a further change into that exact and strictly ordered way of living which we are trying to avoid, and they have to be always taking heed not to transgress this, since every shortcoming is at once bitterly brought to book. On the other hand, warm baths have much to offer by way of excuse. For they do not detract so much from vigour and strength as

(131) πρὸς ὑγίειαν, ἐνδόσιμα τῇ πέψει καὶ μαλακὰ παρέχουσα, τοῖς δὲ τὴν πέψιν διαφεύγουσιν, ἄν γε δὴ μὴ παντάπασιν ὠμὰ καὶ μετέωρα μείνῃ, διαχύσεις ἀλύπους παρασκευάζουσα καὶ κόπους ἐκλεαίνουσα
D λανθάνοντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ φύσις παρέχῃ μετρίως διακειμένου καὶ ἱκανῶς τοῦ σώματος αἴσθησιν, ἐατέον τὸ βαλανεῖον. ἄλειμμα δὲ τὸ πρὸς πυρὶ βέλτιον, ἂν ἀλέας δέηται τὸ σῶμα, ταμιεύεται γὰρ αὐτῷ τῆς θερμότητος. ὁ δ' ἥλιος οὔτε μᾶλλον οὔθ' ἧττον ἀλλ' ὡς κέκραται πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα κεχρῆσθαι δίδωσι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱκανὰ περὶ γυμνασίων.

18. Ἐπὶ δὲ τροφὴν παραγενομένους, ἂν μὲν ᾖ τι τῶν πρόσθεν ὄφελος λόγων οἷς τὰς ὀρέξεις κηλοῦμεν καὶ καταπραΰνομεν, ἄλλο τι χρὴ παραινεῖν τῶν ἐφεξῆς· ἂν δ' ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμῶν λελυ-
E μένη χαλεπὸν ᾖ χρῆσθαι καὶ φιλονεικεῖν πρὸς γαστέρα ὦτα μὴ ἔχουσαν, ὡς ἔλεγε Κάτων, διαμηχανητέον τῇ ποιότητι τῆς τροφῆς ἐλαφρότερον ποιεῖν τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ τὰ μὲν στερεὰ καὶ πολύτροφα τῶν σιτίων, οἷον τὰ κρεώδη καὶ τυρώδη καὶ σύκων τὰ ξηρὰ καὶ ᾠῶν τὰ ἑφθά, προσφέρεσθαι πεφυλαγμένως ἁπτόμενον (ἔργον γὰρ ἀεὶ παραιτεῖσθαι), τοῖς δὲ λεπτοῖς ἐμφύεσθαι καὶ κούφοις, οἷα τὰ πολλὰ τῶν λαχάνων καὶ τὰ πτηνὰ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων οἱ μὴ πίονες. ἔστι γὰρ
F τὰ τοιαῦτα προσφερόμενον καὶ χαρίζεσθαι ταῖς ὀρέξεσι καὶ τὸ σῶμα μὴ πιέζειν. μάλιστα δὲ

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[a] The same remark is found in *Moralia*, 198 D, 996 D, and *Life of M. Cato*, chap. viii. (p. 340 A).

they help towards health by rendering the food yielding and soft for the digestion, and by providing for the painless dispersion of whatever escapes digestion, at least if it do not remain altogether crude and high up, and soothing any latent feelings of fatigue. However, when Nature affords us a sense of a moderate and comfortable condition in our body, the bath had better be left alone. A gentle rubbing with oil beside a fire is better, if the body require warming, for it can take for itself the requisite amount of such warmth; but the sun permits the use of its warmth at neither higher nor lower temperature than is determined by the temperature of the air. So much will suffice in regard to exercise.

18. Coming now to the subject of food, if there be anything helpful in my earlier suggestions as to how we may beguile and pacify our appetites, we must give some further advice regarding what comes next; but if it be difficult to manage a belly that has been set free, as it were from bondage, and to wrangle with it when it has no ears to hear, as Cato [a] used to say, we must contrive by means of the character of our food to make the quantity less burdensome; and of the solid and very nourishing foods, things, for example, like meat and cheese, dried figs and boiled eggs, one may partake if he helps himself cautiously (for it is hard work to decline all the time), but should stick to the thin and light things, such as most of the garden stuff, birds, and such fish as have not much fat. For it is possible by partaking of these things both to gratify the appetites and not oppress the body. Especially to be feared are indigestions

τὰς ἀπὸ κρεῶν φοβητέον ἀπεψίας· καὶ γὰρ εὐθὺς σφόδρα καὶ βαρύνουσι, καὶ λείψανον εἰσαῦθις πονηρὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν παραμένει. καὶ κράτιστον μὲν ἐθίσαι τὸ σῶμα μηδεμιᾶς προσδεῖσθαι σαρκοφαγίας· πολλὰ γὰρ οὐ μόνον πρὸς διατροφὴν ἄφθονα ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς εὐπάθειαν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἀναδίδωσιν ἡ γῆ, τοῖς μὲν αὐτόθεν ἀπραγμόνως χρῆσθαι παρέχουσα, τὰ δὲ μιγνύμενα παντοδαπῶς
132 καὶ σκευαζόμενα συνηδύνειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἔθος τρόπον τινὰ φύσις τοῦ παρὰ φύσιν γέγονεν, οὐ δεῖ χρῆσθαι κρεοφαγίᾳ πρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν ὀρέξεως, ὥσπερ λύκους ἢ λέοντας, ἀλλ' οἷον ὑπέρεισμα καὶ διάζωμα τῆς τροφῆς ἐμβαλλομένους ἑτέροις σιτίοις χρῆσθαι καὶ ὄψοις, ἃ καὶ τῷ σώματι μᾶλλόν ἐστι κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἧττον ἀμβλύνει τὸ λογικόν, ὥσπερ ἐκ λιτῆς καὶ ἐλαφρᾶς ὕλης ἀναπτόμενον.

19. Τῶν δ' ὑγρῶν γάλακτι μὲν οὐχ ὡς ποτῷ χρηστέον, ἀλλ' ὡς σιτίῳ δύναμιν ἐμβριθῆ καὶ
B πολύτροφον ἔχοντι. πρὸς δὲ τὸν οἶνον ἅπερ Εὐριπίδης πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην διαλεκτέον

εἴης μοι, μέτριος[1] δέ πως
εἴης, μηδ' ἀπολείποις.

καὶ γὰρ ποτῶν ὠφελιμώτατόν ἐστι καὶ φαρμάκων ἥδιστον καὶ ὄψων ἀσικχότατον, ἂν τύχῃ τῆς πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν εὐκρασίας μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ. ὕδωρ δ' οὐ μόνον τὸ μιγνύμενον πρὸς οἶνον, ἀλλὰ

[1] μέτριος Heath: μέτριον.

[a] It is worth while to compare Plutarch's essays on eating meat, *Moralia*, 993 A–999 B.

arising from meats [a]; for they are depressing at the outset, and a pernicious residue from them remains behind. It is best to accustom the body not to require meat in addition to other food. For the earth yields in abundance many things not only for nourishment but also for comfort and enjoyment, some of which it grants to our use just as they are with no trouble on our part, while others we may make savoury by all sorts of combination and preparation. But since custom has become a sort of unnatural second nature, our use of meat should not be for the satisfaction of appetite, as is the case with wolves or lions; but while we may put it in as a sort of prop and support of our diet, we should use other foods and relishes which for the body are more in accord with nature and less dulling to the reasoning faculty, which, as it were, is kindled from plain and light substances.

19. Of the liquids milk ought not to be used as a beverage but as a food possessing solid and nourishing power. With regard to wine we ought to talk as does Euripides [b] with regard to Love:

> Mayest thou be mine, but moderate be,
> I pray, yet ne'er abandon me.

For wine is the most beneficial of beverages, the pleasantest of medicines, and the least cloying of appetizing things, provided that there is a happy combination of it with the occasion as well as with water. Water, not only the water that is mixed with

[b] From an unknown play: *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 967. The sentiment is a favourite one with Euripides; *cf.*, for example, *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, 543-557; *Medea*, 627-634; *Helena*, 1105.

(132) καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ τοῦ κεκραμένου μεταξὺ πινόμενον ἀβλαβέστερον ποιεῖ τὸ κεκραμένον. ἐθιστέον οὖν παρὰ τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν ὕδατος προσφέρεσθαι καὶ δύο καὶ τρία ποτήρια, τήν τε δύναμιν
C τοῦ οἴνου ποιοῦντα μαλακωτέραν καὶ τοῦ σώματος συνήθη τὴν ὑδροποσίαν, ὅπως, ὅταν ἐν χρείᾳ γένηται, μὴ ξενοπαθῇ μηδ' ἀπαναίνηται. συμβαίνει γὰρ ἐνίους φέρεσθαι μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν οἶνον ὅταν μάλιστα χρείαν ὑδροποσίας ἔχωσι. καὶ γὰρ ἡλιωθέντες καὶ ῥιγώσαντες πάλιν καὶ σφοδρότερον εἰπόντες καὶ συντονώτερον φροντίσαντες καὶ ὅλως μετὰ τοὺς κόπους καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας οἴονται ποτέον εἶναι τὸν οἶνον, ὡς καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἀπαιτούσης εὐπάθειάν τινα τῷ σώματι
D καὶ μεταβολὴν ἐκ τῶν πόνων. ἡ δὲ φύσις εὐπάθειαν μέν, εἴ τις εὐπάθειαν καλεῖ τὴν ἡδυπάθειαν, οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖ, μεταβολὴν δ' ἀπαιτεῖ τὴν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἡδονῆς καὶ πόνου καθιστᾶσαν. διὸ καὶ τροφῆς ὑφαιρετέον ἐν τούτοις, καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἢ παντελῶς ἀφαιρετέον ἢ προσοιστέον πολλῇ κατακεραννύμενον διὰ μέσου καὶ κατακλυζόμενον ὑδροποσίᾳ. πλήκτης γὰρ ὢν καὶ ὀξὺς ἐπιτείνει τὰς τοῦ σώματος ταραχάς, καὶ τραχύτερα ποιεῖ καὶ παροξύνει τὰ πεπληγμένα,[1] παρηγορίας δεόμενα καὶ λειότητος, ἃς[2] μάλιστα τὸ ὕδωρ ἐνδίδωσι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὐ διψῶντες, ἄλλως δὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ
E πίωμεν μετὰ τοὺς κόπους καὶ τὰς διατάσεις καὶ τὰ καύματα, χαλάσματος καὶ μαλακότητος αἰσθανόμεθα περὶ τὰ ἐντός· ἤπιος γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ὕδατος ὑγρότης καὶ ἄσφυκτος, ἡ δὲ τοῦ οἴνου φορὰν ἔχει

[1] πεφλεγμένα (?).
[2] ἃς Reiske: οἵας Wyttenbach: οἷς.

the wine, but that which is drunk by itself in the interim between the draughts of the mixture, makes the mixture more innocent. One ought to accustom oneself, therefore, in the course of the daily routine to partake of two or three glasses of water, thus both making the potency of the wine milder, and making the drinking of water habitual with the body, so that, whenever it comes to be in need of water, it may not feel strange towards the drink, and refuse it. For the fact is that some people feel most impelled towards wine when the drink which they most need is water. For after being exposed to the sun, and again when chilled, and after speaking more earnestly and thinking more intently than usual, and, in general, after exertions and strivings, they think they ought to drink wine, feeling that Nature requires for the body some comfort and change after labours. But Nature does not require comfort, if comfort is only a name for self-indulgence, but she does require a change, a change which puts the body in a state midway between pleasure and pain. Therefore in such circumstances there should not only be some reduction in food, but wine should be either altogether eliminated or else partaken of between times very diluted and practically engulfed by the drinking of water. For wine, being truculent and keen, intensifies the disturbances of the body, and exacerbates and irritates the contused parts, which are in need of the comfort and alleviation that water best supplies. For if, in spite of the fact that we are not thirsty, we drink hot water after undergoing exertion, strain, or heat, we are sensible of a relaxing and soothing effect within us; for the aqueous fluid is mild and does not quicken the pulse,

πολλὴν καὶ δύναμιν οὐκ εὐμενῆ τοῖς προσφάτοις πάθεσιν οὐδὲ φιλάνθρωπον. καὶ γὰρ ἃς λέγουσιν ἔνιοι τῷ σώματι τὴν ἀσιτίαν δριμύτητας ἐγγεννᾶν καὶ πικρότητας εἴ τις δέδιεν ἢ καθάπερ οἱ παῖδες δεινὸν ἡγεῖται πρὸ τοῦ πυρέττειν μὴ παρατίθεσθαι τράπεζαν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ γεγονώς, εὐάρμοστον ἡ ὑδροποσία μεθόριον. καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ τῷ Διονύσῳ πολλάκις νηφάλια θύομεν, ἐθιζόμενοι καλῶς μὴ
F ζητεῖν ἀεὶ τὸν ἄκρατον. ὁ δὲ Μίνως καὶ τὸν αὐλὸν ἀφεῖλε τῆς θυσίας καὶ τὸν στέφανον ὑπὸ λύπης. καίτοι λυπουμένην ψυχὴν ἴσμεν οὔθ' ὑπὸ στεφάνων οὔθ' ὑπ' αὐλῶν παθοῦσαν· σῶμα δ' οὐδὲν οὕτως ἰσχυρόν ἐστιν, ᾧ τεταραγμένῳ καὶ φλεγμαίνοντι προσπεσὼν οἶνος οὐκ ἠδίκησε.

20. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν Λυδοὺς ἐν τῷ λιμῷ λέγουσι διαγαγεῖν ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν τρεφομένους, εἶτα παίζοντας καὶ κυβεύοντας· φιλόλογον δ' ἄνδρα καὶ φιλόμουσον ἐν καιρῷ δεομένῳ[1] βραδυτέρου
133 δείπνου διάγραμμα παρακείμενον ἤ τι βιβλίδιον ἢ λύριον οὐ προΐενται τῇ γαστρὶ λεηλατούμενον, ἀλλ' ἀποστρέφων συνεχῶς καὶ μεταφέρων ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ὥσπερ Ἁρπυίας τὰς ὀρέξεις διασοβήσει ταῖς Μούσαις. οὐ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Σκύθης, ὅταν πίνῃ, πολλάκις ἐφάπτεται τοῦ τόξου καὶ παραψάλλει τὴν νευράν, ἐκλυόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης ἀνακαλούμενος τὸν θυμόν, Ἕλλην δ' ἀνὴρ φοβήσεται τοὺς καταγελῶντας αὐτοῦ, γράμμασι καὶ βιβλίοις ἀγνώμονα καὶ δυσπαραίτητον

[1] δεομένῳ Meziriacus: δεόμενον.

[a] *Cf.* Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, iii. 15. 7.
[b] Herodotus, i. 94.
[c] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Life of Demetrius*, chap. xix. (p. 897 c).

whereas that of wine has great impetuosity and a potency that is not kindly or humanely disposed toward recent affections. As for the acerbities and bitterness which some say fasting engenders in the body, if anybody fears them, or if, childlike, he thinks it a dreadful thing not to have a meal served before the fever which he suspects is coming, the drinking of water is a very fitting middle course. In fact we frequently make to Dionysus himself offerings which include no wine, thus habituating ourselves quite properly not to be always looking for strong drink. Minos, too, because of grief, abolished the flute and garland from the sacrifice.[a] Yet we know that a grieving soul is not affected either by garlands or by flute. But no one's body is so strong that wine, thrust upon it when it is disturbed and feverish, does it no harm.

20. The Lydians, they say,[b] in a time of famine, alternately spent one day in regaling themselves with food, and the next in jollity and games of chance. But in the case of a scholarly and cultivated man, on an occasion which requires a later dinner than usual, a mathematical problem on hand, or some pamphlet or musical instrument, will not permit him to be harried by his belly; on the contrary, he will steadily turn away and transfer his thoughts from the table to these other things, and scare away his appetites, like Harpies, by means of the Muses. Does not the Scythian,[c] while he is drinking, ofttimes put his hand to his bow, and twang the string, thus summoning back his senses which are being unstrung by the liquor; and shall a Greek man be afraid of those who deride him when by letters and books he endeavours quietly to ease and relax an unfeeling

(133) ἐπιθυμίαν ἀνιέντος ἀτρέμα καὶ χαλῶντος; τῶν
B μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Μενάνδρῳ νεανίσκων ὑπὸ τοῦ πορνοβοσκοῦ παρὰ πότον ἐπιβουλευομένων καλὰς καὶ πολυτελεῖς εἰσάγοντος ἑταίρας ἕκαστος, ὥς φησι,

κύψας καθ'[1] αὑτὸν τῶν τραγημάτων ἔφλα,

φυλαττόμενος καὶ φοβούμενος ἐμβλέπειν· οἱ δὲ φιλόλογοι πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς καὶ ἡδείας ἀπόψεις καὶ ἀποστροφὰς ἔχουσιν, ἄνπερ ἄλλως μὴ δύνωνται τὸ κυνικὸν καὶ θηριῶδες τῶν ὀρέξεων κατέχειν παρακειμένης τραπέζης. ἀλειπτῶν δὲ φωνὰς καὶ παιδοτριβῶν λόγους ἑκάστοτε λεγόντων ὡς τὸ παρὰ δεῖπνον φιλολογεῖν τὴν τροφὴν διαφθείρει καὶ βαρύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν τότε φοβητέον, ὅταν
C τὸν Ἰνδὸν ἀναλύειν ἢ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τοῦ Κυριεύοντος ἐν δείπνῳ μέλλωμεν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοίνικος, γλυκὺν ὄντα, σφόδρα κεφαλαλγῆ[2] λέγουσιν εἶναι· διαλεκτικὴ δὲ "τρωγάλιον" ἐπὶ δείπνῳ "γλυκὺ" μὲν οὐδαμῶς κεφαλαλγὲς δὲ καὶ κοπῶδες ἰσχυρῶς ἐστιν. ἂν δ' ἡμᾶς μὴ ἄλλο τι ζητεῖν ἢ φιλοσοφεῖν ἢ ἀναγιγνώσκειν παρὰ δεῖπνον ἐῶσι τῶν ἐν τῷ καλῷ καὶ ὠφελίμῳ τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς καὶ γλυκὺ μόριον ἐχόντων, κελεύσομεν αὐτοὺς
D μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπιόντας ἐν τῷ ξυστῷ ταῦτα καὶ ταῖς παλαίστραις διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς ἀθληταῖς,

[1] καθ' Wyttenbach from *Moralia*, 706 B: ἐς.
[2] κεφαλαλγῆ] κεφαλαλγὸν MSS.

[a] From an unknown play; *cf.* Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p 183, No. 607. *Cf.* also Plutarch, *Moralia*, 706 B.

[b] These are both thought to be logical fallacies of the type of Achilles and the tortoise, or the "Liar." *Cf.* also *Moralia*, 1070 C.

and inexorable desire? When the young men described by Menander[a] were, as they were drinking, insidiously beset by the pimp, who introduced some handsome and high-priced concubines, each one of them (as he says),

> Bent down his head and munched his own dessert,

being on his guard and afraid to look at them. But scholars have many fair and pleasant outlooks and diversions, if so be they can in no other way keep under control the canine and bestial element in their appetites when at table. The utterances of athletic trainers and the talk of teachers of gymnastics, who assert on every occasion that scholarly conversation at dinner spoils the food and makes the head heavy, are to be feared only when we propose to solve the Indian problem or to discuss determinants[b] during dinner. The leaf-bud at the top of the date-palm is sweet, but they say that it brings on a violent headache[c]; and an exercise in logic is by no means a "sweet morsel"[d] to top off a dinner, but, on the contrary, it is quite likely to bring on a headache, and is extremely fatiguing as well. But if they will not allow us to start any other inquiry or scholarly discussion,[e] or to read while at dinner any of those things which, besides being beautiful and useful, contain also the element of pleasurable allurement and sweetness, we shall bid them not to bother us, but to take themselves off, and in the training grounds and buildings to engage in such talk with the athletes, whom they have torn from their books,

[c] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Anabasis*, ii. 3. 15.
[d] From Pindar, *Frag.* 124 (ed. Christ).
[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 612 F, where this topic is treated more fully.

(133) οὓς τῶν βιβλίων ἐξελόντες καὶ[1] διημερεύειν ἐν σκώμμασι καὶ βωμολοχίαις ἐθίζοντες, ὡς ὁ κομψὸς Ἀρίστων ἔλεγε, τοῖς ἐν γυμνασίῳ κίοσιν ὁμοίως λιπαροὺς πεποιήκασι καὶ λιθίνους. αὐτοὶ δὲ πειθόμενοι τοῖς ἰατροῖς παραινοῦσιν ἀεὶ τοῦ δείπνου καὶ τοῦ ὕπνου λαμβάνειν μεθόριον καὶ μὴ συμφορήσαντας εἰς τὸ σῶμα τὰ σιτία καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καταθλίψαντας εὐθὺς[2] ὠμῇ καὶ ζεούσῃ τῇ τροφῇ βαρύνειν τὴν πέψιν ἀλλ' ἀναπνοὴν καὶ χάλασμα παρέχειν,[3] ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ σώματα κινεῖν
E μετὰ δεῖπνον ἀξιοῦντες οὐ δρόμοις οὐδὲ παγκρατίοις τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν ἀλλὰ βληχροῖς[4] περιπάτοις καὶ χορείαις ἐμμελέσιν, οὕτως ἡμεῖς οἰησόμεθα δεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς διαφέρειν μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον μήτε πράγμασι μήτε φροντίσι μήτε σοφιστικοῖς ἀγῶσι πρὸς ἅμιλλαν ἐπιδεικτικὴν ἢ κινητικὴν[5] περαινομένοις. ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μέν ἐστι τῶν φυσικῶν προβλημάτων ἐλαφρὰ καὶ πιθανά, πολλαὶ δὲ διηγήσεις ἠθικὰς[6] σκέψεις ἔχουσαι καὶ τοῦτο[7] δὴ τὸ "μενοεικές," ὡς Ὅμηρος ἔφη, καὶ μὴ ἀντίτυπον. τὰς δ' ἐν[8] ἱστορικαῖς καὶ ποιητικαῖς ζητήσεσι διατριβὰς οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἔνιοι δευτέρας τραπέζας ἀνδράσι φιλολόγοις καὶ φιλομούσοις προσεῖπον. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ διηγήσεις ἄλυποι καὶ
F μυθολογίαι, καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐλοῦ τι καὶ λύρας ἀκοῦσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ἐλαφρότερον ἢ λύρας αὐτῆς

[1] καὶ Capps: ἀεί. [2] εὐθὺς Xylander: μὴ εὐθύς.
[3] παρέχειν Benseler: ἔχειν.
[4] ἀλλὰ βληχροῖς L. Dindorf.: ἀλλ' ἀβληχροῖς.
[5] κινητικὴν Wyttenbach: φιλονεικητικὴν Duebner: νικητικὴν Bernardakis: the MS. reading could not be learned from

and by accustoming them to spend the whole day in jesting and scurrility, have, as the clever Ariston said, made them as glossy and blockish as the pillars in a gymnasium. But as for ourselves, we shall follow the advice of the physicians who recommend always to let some time intervene between dinner and sleep, and not, after jumbling our victuals into our body and oppressing our spirit, to hinder our digestion at once with the food that is still unassimilated and fermenting, but rather to provide for it some respite and relaxation; just as those who think it is the right thing to keep their bodies moving after dinner do not do this by means of foot-races and strenuous boxing and wrestling, but by gentle walking and decorous dancing, so we shall hold that we ought not to distract our minds after dinner either with business or cares or pseudo-learned disputations, which have as their goal an ostentatious or stirring rivalry. But many of the problems of natural science are light and enticing, and there are many stories which contain ethical considerations and the "soul's satisfaction," as Homer has phrased this, and nothing repellent. The spending of time over questions of history and poetry some persons, not unpleasingly, have called a second repast[a] for men of scholarship and culture. There are also inoffensive stories and fables, and it is less onerous to exchange opinions about a flute and a lyre than to listen to the sound of the lyre and the

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 672 E.

the earlier editors, but according to the Teubner edition of 1925 the MSS. are divided between κινητικὴν and νικητικὴν.

[6] ἠθικὰς Duebner: ἤθη καὶ.

[7] καὶ τοῦτο Bernardakis: τοῦτο.

[8] τὰς δ' ἐν Xylander and Meziriacus: ταῖς δὲ.

φθεγγομένης ἀκούειν καὶ αὐλοῦ. μέτρον δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ τῆς τροφῆς καθισταμένης ἀτρέμα καὶ συμπνεούσης τὴν πέψιν ἐγκρατῆ γενέσθαι καὶ ὑπερδέξιον.

21. Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης οἴεται τῶν δεδειπνηκότων τὸν μὲν περίπατον ἀναρριπίζειν τὸ θερμόν, τὸν δ' ὕπνον, ἂν εὐθὺς καθεύδωσι, κακαπνίγειν, ἕτεροι δὲ τὴν μὲν ἡσυχίαν οἴονται τὰς πέψεις βελτίονας ποιεῖν, τὴν δὲ κίνησιν ταράττειν τὰς
134 ἀναδόσεις, καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν περιπατεῖν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ δείπνου τοὺς δ' ἀτρεμεῖν πέπεικεν, ἀμφοτέρων ἂν οἰκείως ἐφάπτεσθαι δόξειεν ὁ τὸ μὲν σῶμα συνθάλπων καὶ συνέχων μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν μὴ καταφερόμενος μηδ' ἀργῶν εὐθὺς ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἴρηται διαφορῶν ἐλαφρῶς τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ λεπτύνων τῷ λαλεῖν τι καὶ ἀκούειν τῶν προσηνῶν καὶ μὴ δακνόντων μηδὲ βαρυνόντων.

22. Ἐμέτους δὲ καὶ κοιλίας καθάρσεις ὑπὸ φαρμάκων, μιαρὰ "παραμύθια πλησμονῆς," ἄνευ
B μεγάλης ἀνάγκης οὐ κινητέον, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ κενώσεως ἕνεκα πληροῦντες τὸ σῶμα καὶ πάλιν πληρώσεως κενοῦντες παρὰ φύσιν, ταῖς πλησμοναῖς οὐχ ἧττον ἢ ταῖς ἐνδείαις ἀνιώμενοι, μᾶλλον δ' ὅλως τὴν μὲν πλήρωσιν ὡς κώλυσιν ἀπολαύσεως βαρυνόμενοι, τὴν δ' ἔνδειαν ὡς χώραν ἀεὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς παρασκευάζοντες. τὸ γὰρ βλαβερὸν ἐν τούτοις προὖπτόν ἐστι· ταραχάς τε γὰρ ἀμφότερα τῷ σώματι παρέχεται καὶ

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[a] *Frag.* 224 (233 in Rose's edition).
[b] *Supra*, 130 A-E.
[c] Plato, *Critias*, p. 115 B.

flute itself. The length of time for this is such as the digestion needs to assert itself and gain the upper hand over the food as it is gradually absorbed and begins to agree with us.

21. Aristotle holds[a] that walking about on the part of those who have just dined revives the bodily warmth, while sleep, if they go to sleep at once, smothers it; but others hold that quiet improves the digestive faculties, while movement disturbs the processes of assimilation; and this has persuaded some to walk about immediately after dinner, and others to remain quiet. In view of the two opinions a man might appear properly to attain both results who after dinner keeps his body warm and quiet, and does not let his mind sink at once into sleep and idleness, but, as has been previously suggested,[b] lightly diverts and enlivens his spirits by talking himself and listening to another on one of the numerous topics which are agreeable and not acrimonious or depressing.

22. The use of emetics and cathartics, abominable "comforts for an overloaded stomach,"[c] ought never, except under the stress of great necessity, to be inaugurated, as is the way of most people, who fill up their bodies for the sake of emptying them, and then empty them for the sake of filling them up again, thus transgressing against nature, and are vexed no less at their fullness than at their emptiness—or, better, they are utterly depressed over their fullness, as being a hindrance to enjoyment, but set about bringing on emptiness with the idea of making room always for pleasures. The harmfulness in all this is manifest; for both procedures give rise to disorders and convulsive movements in the

(134) σπαραγμούς. ἴδιον δὲ τῷ μὲν ἐμέτῳ κακὸν πρόσεστι τὸ τὴν ἀπληστίαν αὔξειν τε καὶ τρέφειν· γίγνονται γὰρ αἱ πεῖναι καθάπερ τὰ κοπτόμενα
C ῥεῖθρα τραχεῖαι καὶ χαραδρώδεις, καὶ βίᾳ τὴν τροφὴν ἕλκουσιν ἀεὶ λυττῶσαι,[1] οὐκ ὀρέξεσιν ἐοικυῖαι σιτίων δεομέναις ἀλλὰ φλεγμοναῖς φαρμάκων καὶ καταπλασμάτων. ὅθεν ἡδοναὶ μὲν ὀξεῖαι καὶ ἀτελεῖς καὶ πολὺν ἔχουσαι σφυγμὸν καὶ οἶστρον ἐν ταῖς ἀπολαύσεσι λαμβάνουσιν αὐτούς, διατάσεις δὲ καὶ πληγαὶ πόρων καὶ πνευμάτων ἐναπολήψεις διαδέχονται, μὴ περιμένουσαι τὰς κατὰ φύσιν ἐξαγωγάς, ἀλλ' ἐπιπολάζουσαι τοῖς σώμασιν ὥσπερ ὑπεράντλοις σκάφεσι, φορτίων ἐκβολῆς οὐ περιττωμάτων δεομένοις. αἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν κάτω κοιλίαν ἐκταράξεις διὰ φαρμακείας φθείρουσαι καὶ τήκουσαι τὰ ὑποκείμενα πλείονα ποιοῦσι περίττωσιν ἢ ἐξ-
D άγουσιν. ὥσπερ οὖν, εἴ τις Ἑλλήνων ὄχλον ἐν πόλει βαρυνόμενος σύνοικον, Ἀράβων ἐμπλήσειε καὶ Σκυθῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐπηλύδων, οὕτως ἔνιοι τοῦ παντὸς διαμαρτάνουσιν ἐπ' ἐκβολῇ περιττωμάτων συνήθων καὶ συντρόφων ἐμβάλλοντες ἔξωθεν εἰς τὸ σῶμα κόκκους τινὰς Κνιδίους καὶ σκαμωνίαν καὶ δυνάμεις ἄλλας ἀσυγκράτους[2] καὶ ἀγρίας καὶ καθαρμοῦ δεομένας μᾶλλον ἢ καθῆραι τὴν φύσιν δυναμένας. ἄριστον μὲν οὖν τὸ μετρίᾳ διαίτῃ καὶ σώφρονι τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖν περί τε πληρώσεις καὶ κενώσεις αὐτοτελὲς ἀεὶ καὶ σύμμετρον.

Εἰ δ' ἀνάγκη ποτὲ καταλάβοι, τοὺς μὲν ἐμέτους

[1] λυττῶσαι Bernardakis : λυττῶσαν or λυποῦντας.
[2] ἀσυγκράτους Meziriacus : ἀσυγκρίτους.

body. What is peculiarly bad in the use of an emetic is that it increases and fosters an insatiate greediness. For the feelings of hunger become rough and turbulent, like rivers that are interrupted in their course, and they gulp the food down violently, always ravening and resembling not appetites that need victuals, but inflammations that need medicines and poultices. For this reason the pleasures that lay hold upon such persons are swift in their action and imperfect, and attended by much palpitation and agitation while being experienced, and these are succeeded by distensions and sharp pains in the passages, and retention of gases, which cannot wait for the natural movements, but stay in the upper part of the body as in water-logged ships which require the jettisoning of their cargo, not merely of their surplus. The violent disturbances lower down in the bowels resulting from medication, by decomposing and liquefying the existing contents, increase rather than relieve the overcrowding. Just imagine that anybody, feeling much troubled at the crowd of Greeks living in his city, should fill up the city with Arab and Scythian immigrants! Yet it is just this radical mistake that some people make in connexion with the expulsion of the surplus of habitual and familiar foods, when they introduce into the body from the outside Cnidian berries, scammony, or other incongruous and drastic agents, which have more need of being purged away than power of purging our nature. It is best, therefore, by moderate and temperate living to make the body constantly self-sufficient and well adjusted as regards filling the stomach and emptying it.

If ever absolute necessity befall us, vomiting

ποιητέον ἄνευ φαρμακείας καὶ περιεργίας, μηδὲν
E ἐκταράττοντας ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπεψίαν διαφυγεῖν αὐτόθεν ἀφιέντας ἀπραγμόνως τῷ πλεονάζοντι τὴν ἀπέρασιν. ὡς γὰρ τὰ ὀθόνια ῥύμμασι καὶ χαλαστραίοις πλυνόμενα μᾶλλον ἐκτρίβεται[1] τῶν ὑδατοκλύστων, οὕτως οἱ μετὰ φαρμάκων ἔμετοι λυμαίνονται τῷ σώματι καὶ διαφθείρουσιν. ὑφισταμένης δὲ κοιλίας οὐδὲν φάρμακον οἷα τῶν σιτίων ἔνια μαλακὰς ἐνδιδόντα προθυμίας καὶ διαλύοντα πράως, ὧν ἥ τε πεῖρα πᾶσι συνήθης καὶ ἡ χρῆσις
F ἄλυπος. ἂν δὲ τούτοις ἀπειθῇ, πλείονας ἡμέρας ὑδροποσίαν ἢ ἀσιτίαν ἢ κλυστῆρα προσδεκτέον μᾶλλον ἢ ταρακτικὰς καὶ φθαρτικὰς φαρμακείας, ἐφ' ἃς οἱ πολλοὶ φέρονται προχείρως, καθάπερ ἀκόλαστοι γυναῖκες, ἐκβολίοις χρώμεναι καὶ φθορίοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάλιν πληροῦσθαι καὶ ἡδυπαθεῖν.

23. Ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἐατέον· οἱ δ' ἄγαν αὖ πάλιν ἀκριβεῖς καὶ τεταγμένας τινὰς ἐκ περιόδου
135 κριτικῆς[2] ἐμβάλλοντες ἀσιτίας οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν φύσιν μὴ δεομένην διδάσκουσι δεῖσθαι συστολῆς καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκαίαν τὴν οὐκ ἀναγκαίαν ὑφαίρεσιν ἐν καιρῷ ζητούμενον ἔθος ἀπαιτοῦντι. βέλτιον γὰρ ἐλευθέροις τοῖς τοιούτοις χρῆσθαι κολασμοῖς εἰς τὸ σῶμα, μηδεμιᾶς δὲ προαισθήσεως οὔσης μηδ' ὑποψίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, πρὸς τὸ συντυγχάνον ἀεὶ ταῖς μεταβολαῖς ὑπήκοον ἔχειν, μὴ καταδεδουλωμένην μηδ' ἐνδεδεμένην ἑνὶ σχήματι βίου πρός τινας καιροὺς ἢ ἀριθμοὺς ἢ

[1] ἐκτρίβεται Bernardakis: ἐντρίβεται, or ἐκπλύνεται, "lose their colours."

[2] κριτικῆς suggested by Wyttenbach: κριτικὰς.

[a] *Supra*, 128 E.

should be induced without medication and a great ado, and without causing any disturbance beyond merely avoiding indigestion by at once allowing the excess to be peacefully ejected. Just as linen cleansed with lye and washing powders wears out faster than that washed in plenty of water, so vomitings with drugs maltreat and ruin the body. If the bowels are getting sluggish, there is no medicine like some sorts of food that afford a mild stimulus to the inclinations and gently dissolve the cause of trouble. Experience with these is familiar to all, and their use is not attended by discomfort. But if it will not yield to these, the drinking of water for several days, or fasting, or an enema, should be tried next rather than disturbing and pernicious dosing to which most people hurriedly resort, after the manner of licentious women who employ drugs and instruments to produce abortion for the sake of the enjoyment of conceiving again.

23. But we need say no more about this class of persons. However, to speak once again of those too exact persons who interject set periods of fasting according to a fixed schedule, they are wrong in teaching their nature to feel a need of restraint when not in need of it, and in making necessary the unnecessary retrenchment at a time which makes demand for what is customarily required. It is better to apply such discipline to the body with a certain freedom, and, if there be no premonitory or suspicious symptoms, to keep, as has been already suggested,[a] our general mode of life responsive to changes so as to meet whatever may befall it, and not to let it be enslaved or bound to one formula of life, which has trained itself to be guided by certain

B περιόδους ἄγεσθαι μεμελετηκότος. οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς
(135) οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον οὐδὲ πολιτικὸν οὐδ' ἀνθρωπικὸν ἀλλ' ὀστρέου τινὸς ζωῇ προσεοικὸς ἢ στελέχους τὸ ἀμετάστατον τοῦτο καὶ κατηναγκασμένον ἐν τροφαῖς καὶ ἀποχαῖς καὶ κινήσεσι καὶ ἡσυχίαις εἰς ἐπίσκιόν τινα βίον καὶ σχολαστὴν καὶ μονότροπόν τινα καὶ ἄφιλον καὶ ἄδοξον ἀπωτάτω πολιτείας καθίσασιν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ συστείλασιν· οὐ "κατά γε τὴν ἐμήν," ἔφη, "γνώμην." (24) οὐ γὰρ ἀργίας ὤνιον ἡ ὑγίεια καὶ ἀπραξίας, ἅ γε δὴ μέγιστα κακῶν ταῖς νόσοις πρόσεστι, καὶ οὐδὲν διαφέρει
C τοῦ τὰ ὄμματα τῷ μὴ διαβλέπειν καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῷ μὴ φθέγγεσθαι φυλάττοντος ὁ τὴν ὑγίειαν ἀχρηστίᾳ καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ σῴζειν οἰόμενος· πρὸς οὐδὲν γὰρ ἑαυτῷ χρήσαιτ' ἄν τις ὑγιαίνοντι κρεῖττον ἢ[1] πρὸς πολλὰς καὶ[2] φιλανθρώπους πράξεις. ἥκιστα δὴ τὴν ἀργίαν ὑγιεινὸν ὑποληπτέον, εἰ τὸ τῆς ὑγιείας τέλος ἀπόλλυσι, καὶ οὐδ' ἀληθές ἐστι τὸ μᾶλλον ὑγιαίνειν τοὺς ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας· οὔτε γὰρ Ξενοκράτης μᾶλλον διυγίαινε Φωκίωνος οὔτε Δημητρίου Θεόφραστος, Ἐπίκουρόν τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἐπίκουρον οὐδὲν ὤνησε πρὸς τὴν ὑμνουμένην σαρκὸς εὐστάθειαν ἡ πάσης φιλοτιμίαν ἐχούσης
D πράξεως ἀπόδρασις. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέραις ἐπιμελείαις διασωστέον ἐστὶ τῷ σώματι τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἕξιν, ὡς παντὸς βίου καὶ νόσον δεχομένου καὶ ὑγίειαν.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἔφη παραινετέον εἶναι τοὐναντίον οὗ Πλάτων παρῄνει τοῖς νέοις.

[1] κρεῖττον ἢ Meziriacus: κρείττονι.
[2] καὶ F.C.B.: καὶ οὐ φιλανθρώπους or καὶ ἀφιλανθρώπους, due probably to the corruption κρείττονι.

seasons, or numbers, or schedules. For it is not safe, nor easy, nor befitting a citizen or a man, but like the life of an oyster or the trunk of a tree—this immutability and forced compliance in the matter of food and abstinence, movement and rest; it is fitting only for men who have reduced and restricted themselves to a retired, idle, solitary, friendless, and inglorious life, far removed from the duties of citizenship. "No," said he, "it fits not with my opinion."[a] (24) For health is not to be purchased by idleness and inactivity, which are the greatest evils attendant on sickness, and the man who thinks to conserve his health by uselessness and ease does not differ from him who guards his eyes by not seeing, and his voice by not speaking. For a man in good health could not devote himself to any better object than to numerous humane activities. Least of all is it to be assumed that laziness is healthful, if it destroys what health aims at; and it is not true either that inactive people are more healthy. For Xenocrates did not keep in better health than Phocion, nor Theophrastus than Demetrius, and the running away from every activity that smacked of ambition did not help Epicurus and his followers at all to attain their much-talked-of condition of perfect bodily health. But we ought, by attention to other details, to preserve the natural constitution of our bodies, recognizing that every life has room for both disease and health.

However, our friend said that to men in public life should be given advice opposite to that which Plato[b]

[a] A paraphrase of Homer, *Il.* ix. 108.

[b] Not extant in Plato's writings, but a faint suggestion of the idea may be found in *Laws*, p. 643 B.

(135) ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ λέγειν ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς ἀπαλλαττόμενος εἰώθει, "ἄγε, ὅπως εἰς καλόν τι καταθήσεσθε τὴν σχολήν, ὦ παῖδες"· ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν τοῖς πολιτευομένοις παραινέσαιμεν εἰς τὰ καλὰ χρῆσθαι τοῖς πόνοις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, μὴ μικρῶν ἕνεκα μηδὲ
E φαύλων τὸ σῶμα παρατείνοντας, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ κακοπαθοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ἀποκναίοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀγρυπνίαις καὶ πλάναις καὶ περιδρομαῖς εἰς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν οὐδ' ἀστεῖον, ἀλλ' ἐπηρεάζοντες ἑτέροις ἢ φθονοῦντες ἢ φιλονεικοῦντες ἢ δόξας ἀκάρπους καὶ κενὰς διώκοντες. πρὸς τούτους γὰρ οἶμαι μάλιστα τὸν Δημόκριτον εἰπεῖν ὡς εἰ τὸ σῶμα δικάσαιτο τῇ ψυχῇ κακώσεως, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὴν ἀποφυγεῖν. ἴσως μὲν γάρ τι καὶ Θεόφραστος ἀληθὲς εἶπεν, εἰπὼν ἐν μεταφορᾷ πολὺ τῷ σώματι τελεῖν ἐνοίκιον τὴν ψυχήν. πλείονα μέντοι τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπολαύει κακὰ μὴ κατὰ λόγον αὐτῷ χρωμένης μηδ' ὡς προσήκει θεραπευόμενον· ὅταν γὰρ ἐν πάθεσιν ἰδίοις γένηται καὶ ἀγῶσι καὶ
F σπουδαῖς, ἀφειδεῖ τοῦ σώματος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰάσων οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι παθών, "τὰ μικρὰ δεῖν ἀδικεῖν," ἔλεγεν, "ἕνεκεν τοῦ τὰ μεγάλα δικαιοπραγεῖν." ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν εὐλόγως τῷ πολιτικῷ παραινέσαιμεν τὰ μικρὰ ῥᾳθυμεῖν καὶ σχολάζειν καὶ ἀναπαύειν

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[a] Mullach, *Frag. Philos. Graec.* i. p. 342; *cf.* also Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, ii.[1] p. 91.

[b] This and the preceding quotation are given in greatly amplified form in Fragment i. 2 of *De anima* (vol. vii. p. 2 of Bernardakis's edition of the *Moralia*).

[c] Despot of Pherae; *cf.* the note *supra* on 89 c. *Cf.* also for the sentiment Plutarch, *Moralia*, 817 F, and Aristotle,

used to give to the young men. For the philosopher, as he took his leave after the exercise, was in the habit of saying, "Be sure, my boys, that you store up the lesson of this hour of leisure for some good end." But we would advise those who take part in the government to employ their active labours for good and necessary ends, and not subject their bodies to stress on account of small and paltry matters, as is the way of most people, who make themselves miserable over incidental things, and wear themselves out with loss of sleep, going to this place and that place, and running about, all for no useful or decent purpose, but only from a spirit of insolence, envy, or rivalry against others, or in the pursuit of unprofitable and empty repute. It was in special reference to such people, as I think, that Democritus said,[a] that, if the body were to enter suit against the soul for cruel and abusive treatment, the soul would not be acquitted. Perhaps, too, there is some truth in what Theophrastus said,[b] in his metaphorical statement, that the soul pays a high rental to the body. At any rate, the body reaps the fruit of more evils from the soul than the soul from the body, inasmuch as the soul uses the body unreasonably, and the body does not get the care that it deserves. For whenever the soul is occupied with its own emotions, strivings, and concerns, it is prodigal of the body. I do not know what possessed Jason[c] to say: "We must do wrong in small ways for the sake of doing right in large ways." But we, with good reason, would advise the man in public life to be indifferent to small things, and to take his ease and give himself

Rhetoric, i. 12; also *The Epistle to the Romans*, iii. 8 and vi. 1.

αὑτὸν ἐν ἐκείνοις, εἰ βούλεται πρὸς τὰς καλὰς πράξεις καὶ μεγάλας μὴ διάπονον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα
136 μηδ' ἀμβλὺ μηδ' ἀπαγορεῦον ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νεωλκίᾳ τῇ σχολῇ τεθεραπευμένον, ὅπως αὖθις ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγούσης

ἄθηλος ἵππῳ πῶλος ὣς ἅμα τρέχῃ.

25. Διὸ τῶν πραγμάτων διδόντων ἀναληπτέον ἑαυτοὺς μήθ' ὕπνου φθονοῦντας τῷ σώματι μήτ' ἀρίστου μήτε ῥᾳστώνης τοῦ μέσου[1] ἡδυπαθείας καὶ κακοπαθείας, μηδὲ[2] φυλάττοντας[3] ὅρον οἷον[4] οἱ πολλοὶ φυλάττοντες ἐπιτρίβουσι τὸ σῶμα ταῖς μεταβολαῖς, ὥσπερ τὸν βαπτόμενον σίδηρον, ὅταν ἐνταθῇ καὶ πιεσθῇ σφόδρα τοῖς πόνοις, αὖθις ἐν
B ἡδοναῖς τηκόμενον ἀμέτρως καὶ λειβόμενον,[5] εἶτα πάλιν ἐξ ἀφροδισίων καὶ οἴνου διάλυτον καὶ μαλακὸν εἰς ἀγορὰν ἢ αὐλὴν ἤ τινα πραγματείαν διαπύρου καὶ συντόνου δεομένην σπουδῆς ἐλαυνόμενον. Ἡράκλειτος μὲν γὰρ ὑδρωπιάσας ἐκέλευσεν "αὐχμὸν ἐξ ἐπομβρίας" ποιῆσαι τὸν ἰατρόν· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἁμαρτάνουσιν, ὅταν ἐν κόποις καὶ πόνοις καὶ ἐνδείαις γένωνται, μάλιστα ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐξυγραίνειν καὶ ἀνατήκειν τὰ σώματα παραδιδόντες, αὖθις δὲ μετὰ τὰς ἡδονὰς οἷον ἐπιστρέφοντες καὶ κατατείνοντες. ἡ γὰρ

[1] τοῦ μέσου F.C.B. : τὸν μέσον Salmasius : τὸ μέσον.
[2] μηδὲ F.C.B. : μήτε.
[3] φυλάττοντας Wyttenbach : φυλάττοντες or φυλαττούσης.
[4] οἷον] ὃν Salmasius.
[5] λειβόμενον Wyttenbach : θλιβόμενον.

[a] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* ii. p. 738, Simonides of Amorgus, No. 5; repeated in *Moralia*, 84 D, 446 E, 790 F, and in a fragment quoted by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, cxv. 18.

plenty of rest while attending to them, if, when he comes to honourable and important activities, he wishes to have his body not worn by drudging, nor dull, nor on the point of giving out, but refreshed by quiet, like a ship in the dock; so that when the soul again points the way to needful activities, it

May run like weanling colt beside its dam.[a]

25. Therefore, when circumstances afford us opportunity, we should give ourselves a chance to recuperate, and to this end we should not grudge to our body either sleep or luncheon or ease, which is the mean between indulgence and discomfort,[b] nor observe the sort of limit that most people observe whereby they wear out their body, like steel that is being tempered, by the changes to which they subject it; whenever the body has been strained and oppressed by much hard work, it is once more softened and relaxed immoderately in pleasures, and again, as the next step, while it is still flaccid and relaxed from venery and wine, it is coerced into going to the Forum or to Court or into some business requiring fervent and intense application. Heracleitus, suffering from dropsy, bade his physician to "bring on a drought to follow the wet spell";[c] but most people are completely in error, inasmuch as, when they are in the midst of exertions, labours, and deprivations, they are most inclined to surrender their bodies to pleasures to be made languid and relaxed, and then, after their pleasures, bending them, as it were, into place, and stretching them tight again.

[b] An adumbration of the Aristotelian doctrine that virtue is a mean.

[c] *Cf.* Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i. pp. 67-68.

(136) φύσις οὐ ζητεῖ τοιαύτην ἀνταπόδοσιν τοῦ σώματος.
C ἀλλὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἀκόλαστον καὶ ἀνελεύθερον ἐκ τῶν ἐπιπόνων ὥσπερ οἱ ναῦται πρὸς ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀπολαύσεις ὕβρει φερόμενον καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἡδονὰς πάλιν ἐπ' ἐργασίας καὶ πορισμοὺς ὠθούμενον οὐκ ἐᾷ λαβεῖν τὴν φύσιν ἧς μάλιστα δεῖται καταστάσεως καὶ γαλήνης, ἀλλ' ἐξίστησι καὶ ταράττει διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν. οἱ δὲ νοῦν ἔχοντες ἥκιστα μὲν ἡδονὰς πονοῦντι τῷ σώματι προσφέρουσιν· οὐ γὰρ δέονται τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ μέμνηνται τῶν τοιούτων πρὸς τῷ
D καλῷ τῆς πράξεως τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχοντες, καὶ τῷ χαίροντι τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ σπουδάζοντι τὰς ἄλλας ἐξαμαυροῦντες ἐπιθυμίας.[1] ὅπερ γάρ φασιν εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν μετὰ παιδιᾶς, ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ περὶ τὰ Λευκτρικὰ νόσῳ τελευτήσαντος, "ὦ Ἡράκλεις, πῶς ἐσχόλασεν ἀνὴρ ἀποθανεῖν ἐν τοσούτοις πράγμασι," τοῦτ' ἀληθῶς ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς ἢ πολιτικὴν πρᾶξιν ἢ φιλόσοφον φροντίδα διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντος, "τίς δὲ σχολὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ νῦν ἀπεπτεῖν ἢ μεθύειν ἢ λαγνεύειν;" γενόμενοι δὲ πάλιν ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ κατατίθενται τὸ σῶμα καὶ διαναπαύουσι, τῶν τε
E πόνων τοὺς ἀχρήστους καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι τῶν ἡδονῶν τὰς οὐκ ἀναγκαίας ὡς τῇ φύσει πολεμίας φυλαττόμενοι καὶ φεύγοντες.

26. Ἤκουσα[2] Τιβέριόν ποτε Καίσαρα εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη καὶ προτείνων ἰατρῷ χεῖρα καταγέλαστός ἐστιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτο

[1] τὰς ἄλλας . . . ἐπιθυμίας Xylander: ταῖς ἄλλαις . . . ἐπιθυμίαις.
[2] ἤκουσα Wyttenbach: ἤκουσα τοίνυν.

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 794 B; Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 46.

For Nature does not require any such form of compensation in the case of the body. But, on the other hand, in the soul the licentious and unmannerly element, immediately after undergoing hardships, is carried away, as sailors are, by wantonness to pleasures and enjoyments, and, after the pleasures, it is again coerced to tasks and business; and the result is that it does not allow Nature to attain the composure and calm which she needs most, but deranges and disturbs her because of this irregularity. But people who have sense are least given to proffering pleasures to the body when it is busied with labours. For they have absolutely no need, nor even recollection, of such things, inasmuch as they are keeping their thoughts intent on the good to be accomplished by their activity; and by the joy or earnestness in their souls they completely dwarf their other desires. There is a jocose remark attributed to Epameinondas in regard to a good man who fell ill and died about the time of the battle of Leuctra: "Great Heavens! How did he find time to die when there was so much going on?" This may be repeated with truth in the case of a man who has in hand some public activity or philosophic meditation: "What time has this man now for indigestion or drunkenness or carnal desires?" But when such men find themselves again at leisure following upon their activities, they compose and rest their bodies, guarding against and avoiding useless toils, and more especially unnecessary pleasures, on the ground that they are inimical to Nature.

26. I have heard that Tiberius Caesar once said that a man over sixty who holds out his hand to a physician is ridiculous.[a] To me that seems a pretty

μὲν εἰρῆσθαι δοκεῖ σοβαρώτερον, ἐκεῖνο δ' ἀληθὲς εἶναι, τὸ δεῖν ἕκαστον αὑτοῦ μήτε σφυγμῶν ἰδιότητος εἶναι ἄπειρον (πολλαὶ γὰρ αἱ καθ' ἕκαστον διαφοραί) μήτε κρᾶσιν ἀγνοεῖν ἣν ἔχει τὸ σῶμα θερμότητος καὶ ξηρότητος, μήθ' οἷς ὠφελεῖσθαι χρώμενον ἢ βλάπτεσθαι πέφυκεν. αὑτοῦ γὰρ ἀναίσθητός ἐστιν καὶ τυφλὸς ἐνοικεῖ τῷ σώματι
F *καὶ κωφὸς ὁ ταῦτα μανθάνων παρ' ἑτέρου καὶ πυνθανόμενος τοῦ ἰατροῦ πότερον μᾶλλον θέρους ἢ χειμῶνος ὑγιαίνει, καὶ πότερον τὰ ὑγρὰ ῥᾷον ἢ τὰ ξηρὰ προσδέχεται, καὶ πότερον φύσει πυκνὸν ἔχει τὸν σφυγμὸν ἢ μανόν· καὶ γὰρ ὠφέλιμον εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ῥᾴδιον, ἀεί γε δὴ πειρωμένους καὶ συνόντας.*

Βρωμάτων δὲ καὶ πωμάτων τὰ χρήσιμα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἡδέα γιγνώσκειν προσήκει, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔμπειρον εἶναι τῶν εὐστομάχων ἢ τῶν εὐστόμων, καὶ
137 *τῶν τὴν πέψιν μὴ ταραττόντων ἢ τῶν τὴν γεῦσιν σφόδρα γαργαλιζόντων. τὸ γὰρ παρ' ἰατροῦ πυνθάνεσθαι τί δύσπεπτον ἢ εὔπεπτον αὑτῷ καὶ τί δυσκοίλιον ἢ εὐκοίλιον οὐχ ἧττον αἰσχρόν ἐστιν ἢ τὸ πυνθάνεσθαι τί γλυκὺ καὶ τί πικρὸν καὶ αὐστηρόν. νῦν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὀψοποιοὺς ἐπανορθοῦσιν, ἐμπείρως διαισθανόμενοι ποῦ πλέον τὸ γλυκὺ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἢ τὸ ἁλμυρὸν ἢ τὸ αὐστηρὸν ἔνεστιν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἀγνοοῦσι τί τῷ σώματι μιχθὲν ἐλαφρὸν καὶ ἄλυπον ἔσται καὶ χρήσιμον. ὅθεν ζωμοῦ μὲν ἄρτυσις οὐ πολλάκις ἁμαρτάνεται παρ' αὐτοῖς,*
B *αὑτοὺς δὲ φαύλως ὁμοῦ καὶ κακῶς ἀρτύοντες ὁσημέραι πολλὰ παρέχουσι πράγματα τοῖς ἰατροῖς.*

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 735 F.

strong statement, but this does seem to be true, that each person ought neither to be unacquainted with the peculiarities of his own pulse (for there are many individual diversities), nor ignorant of any idiosyncrasy which his body has in regard to temperature and dryness,[a] and what things in actual practice have proved to be beneficial or detrimental to it. For the man has no perception regarding himself, and is but a blind and deaf tenant in his own body, who gets his knowledge of these matters from another, and must inquire of his physician whether his health is better in summer or winter, whether he can more easily tolerate liquid or solid foods, and whether his pulse is naturally fast or slow. For it is useful and easy for us to know things of this sort, since we have daily experience and association with them.

In regard to food and drink it is expedient to note what kinds are wholesome rather than what are pleasant, and to be better acquainted with those that are good in the stomach rather than in the mouth, and those that do not disturb the digestion rather than those that greatly tickle the palate. For to inquire of a physician what is hard or easy for oneself to digest, and what is constipating or laxative, is no less disgraceful than to inquire what is sweet and what is bitter and what is sour. But nowadays people correct the chefs, being expert at detecting what dish has in it more sweetening or salt or sourness than is proper; but they do not themselves know what, when taken into their own bodies, will be light and painless and beneficial. Therefore, a mistake is not often made in seasoning a soup at their houses, but by their vile and pernicious seasoning of themselves every day they provide a plentiful business

(137) ζωμὸν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄριστον ἡγοῦνται τὸν γλυκύτατον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πικρὰ καὶ δριμέα συμμιγνύουσιν· εἰς δὲ τὸ σῶμα πολλὰς καὶ κατακόρους ἐμβάλλουσιν ἡδονάς, τὰ μὲν ἀγνοοῦντες τὰ δ' οὐ μνημονεύοντες ὅτι τοῖς ὑγιεινοῖς καὶ ὠφελίμοις ἡ φύσις ἡδονὴν ἄλυπον καὶ ἀμεταμέλητον προστίθησιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα δεῖ μνημονεύειν, τὰ σύμφυλα καὶ πρόσφορα τῷ σώματι, καὶ τοὐναντίον ἐν ταῖς καθ' ὥραν μεταβολαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις περιστάσεσιν εἰδότας οἰκείως προσαρμόττειν ἑκάστῃ[1] τὴν δίαιταν.

C 27. Ὅσα μὲν γὰρ μικρολογίας καὶ ἀνελευθερίας προσκρούματα λαμβάνουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ περί τε συγκομιδὰς καρπῶν καὶ τηρήσεις ἐπιπόνους, ἀγρυπνίαις καὶ περιδρομαῖς ἐξελέγχοντες τὰ σαθρὰ καὶ ὕπουλα τοῦ σώματος, οὐκ ἄξιόν ἐστι δεδιέναι μὴ πάθωσιν ἄνδρες φιλόλογοι καὶ πολιτικοί, πρὸς οὓς ἐνέστηκεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος· ἀλλ' ἑτέραν τινὰ φυλακτέον ἐστὶ τούτοις δριμυτέραν ἐν γράμμασι καὶ μαθήμασι μικρολογίαν, ὑφ' ἧς ἀφειδεῖν καὶ ἀμελεῖν τοῦ σώματος ἀναγκάζονται, πολλάκις ἀπαγορεύοντος οὐκ

D ἐνδιδόντες ἀλλὰ προσβιαζόμενοι θνητὸν ἀθανάτῳ καὶ γηγενὲς Ὀλυμπίῳ συναμιλλᾶσθαι καὶ συνεξανύτειν. εἶθ' ὡς ὁ βοῦς πρὸς τὴν ὁμόδουλον ἔλεγε κάμηλον, ἐπικουφίσαι τοῦ φορτίου μὴ βουλομένην, "ἀλλὰ κἀμὲ καὶ ταῦτα πάντα μετὰ μικρὸν οἴσεις,"

[1] ἑκάστῃ F.C.B.: ἑκάστῳ.

for the physicians. Now such persons do not regard the sweetest soup as the best, but they mix in also bitter and pungent flavourings ; on the other hand, they inject into the body numerous cloying pleasures, partly from ignorance, and partly because they do not remember that to whatever is healthful and beneficial nature adds a pleasure which causes neither pain nor repentance. But we must keep in mind both those things that are congenial and suitable to the body, and, conversely, as changes attendant on the season occur and different circumstances arise, we should, in full knowledge of the facts, suitably adjust our mode of living to each.

27. Now as to various difficulties, due to observance of petty detail and to lack of freedom, which most men encounter—men who are engaged in the toilsome business of harvesting and caring for their crops and by sleepless nights and running hither and thither bring to light the latent infirmities of their bodies—there is no good reason to fear that such will be experienced by scholars and men in public life, with reference to whom our discussion has taken its present form ; but these must guard against another and more subtle kind of pettiness that inheres in letters and learning, an influence which compels them to be unsparing and careless of their body, so that they oftentimes, when the body is ready to succumb, will not surrender, but will force the mortal to be partner with the immortal, and the earth-born with the celestial, in rivalry and achievement. Then later, to quote the words of the ox to his fellow-servant the camel, who was unwilling to lighten his burden : " Well, before long you will be carrying me as well as all this load " (as actually

(137) ὃ καὶ συνέβη τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ, οὕτω συμβαίνει τῇ ψυχῇ· μικρὰ χαλάσαι καὶ παρεῖναι μὴ βουλομένη πονοῦντι καὶ δεομένῳ, μετ' ὀλίγον πυρετοῦ τινος ἢ σκοτώματος ἐμπεσόντος ἀφεῖσα τὰ βιβλία καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ἀναγκάζεται
E συννοσεῖν ἐκείνῳ καὶ συγκάμνειν. ὀρθῶς οὖν ὁ Πλάτων παρῄνεσε μήτε σῶμα κινεῖν ἄνευ ψυχῆς μήτε ψυχὴν ἄνευ σώματος, ἀλλ' οἷόν τινα ξυνωρίδος ἰσορροπίαν διαφυλάττειν, ὅτε μάλιστα τῇ ψυχῇ συνεργεῖ τὸ σῶμα καὶ συγκάμνει, πλείστην ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῷ καὶ θεραπείαν ἀποδιδόντας καὶ τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἐράσμιον ὑγίειαν[1] ὧν δίδωσιν ἀγαθῶν κάλλιστον ἡγουμένους διδόναι τὸ πρὸς κτῆσιν ἀρετῆς καὶ χρῆσιν ἔν τε λόγοις καὶ πράξεσιν ἀκώλυτον αὐτῶν.

[1] ὑγίειαν Reiske: ὑγίειαν ἀποδιδόντας.

resulted when the ox fell dead).[a] And this is just what happens to the mind: if it is unwilling to relax a little and give up to the body in distress and need, a little later a fever or a vertigo attacks it, and it is compelled to give up its books and discussions and studies, and share with the body its sickness and weariness. Plato [b] was right, therefore, in advising that there should be no movement of the body without the mind or of the mind without the body, but that we should preserve, as it were, the even balance of a well-matched team; when the body shares most in the work and weariness of the mind we should repay it by giving it the most care and attention, and we should feel that of the good gifts which fair and lovely Health bestows the fairest is the unhampered opportunity to get and to use virtue both in words and in deeds.

[a] *Cf.* Aesop's *Fables*, No. 125.
[b] *Timaeus*, p. 88 B.

ADVICE TO BRIDE AND GROOM
(CONIUGALIA PRAECEPTA)

INTRODUCTION

The modern bride will undoubtedly turn up her nose and shake her independent head in disapproval of Plutarch's suggestions about subordinating herself to her husband, and nobody will attempt to deny that the status of women has changed materially since Plutarch's time; but, apart from this, she will find in Plutarch's short essay many suggestions regarding whole-souled co-operation and cheerful intellectual companionship with her husband, which *mutatis mutandis* hold as good to-day as they did when they were written, nearly two thousand years ago. Nor is the husband neglected; he can find much sound advice regarding his attitude towards his wife and the respect and consideration that is always due to her.

Plutarch was no mere theorist in these matters. He himself was happily married, and anyone who doubts this should read his letter to his wife (*Moralia*, 608 A).

The essay is included in the catalogue of Lamprias (see Vol. I. Introd. p. xviii) and is not infrequently quoted or referred to by later writers, Stobaeus, for example, in his *Florilegium*, especially lxxiv., and Hieronymus (St. Jerome), *Adversus Iovinianum*, i. *ad fin.* It is well worth while, in this connexion, to read Jeremy Taylor's sermon, *The Marriage Ring*, to see how a famous preacher served up many of the ideas of a heathen philosopher to a Christian congregation.

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΠΟΛΛΙΑΝΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΥΔΙΚΗΙ ΕΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ

B Μετὰ τὸν πάτριον θεσμόν, ὃν ὑμῖν ἡ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱέρεια συνειργνυμένοις ἐφήρμοσεν, οἶμαι καὶ τὸν λόγον ὁμοῦ συνεφαπτόμενον ὑμῶν καὶ συνυμεναιοῦντα χρήσιμον ἄν τι ποιῆσαι καὶ τῷ νόμῳ προσῳδόν.

Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μουσικοῖς ἕνα τῶν αὐλητικῶν νόμων ἱππόθορον ἐκάλουν, μέλος τι τοῖς ἵπποις ὁρμῆς ἐπεγερτικὸν ὡς ἔοικεν ἐνδιδόν τε[1] περὶ τὰς ὀχείας· φιλοσοφίᾳ δὲ πολλῶν λόγων καὶ καλῶν C ἐνόντων, οὐδενὸς ἧττον ἄξιος σπουδῆς ὁ γαμήλιός ἐστιν οὗτος, ᾧ κατᾴδουσα τοὺς ἐπὶ βίου κοινωνίᾳ συνιόντας εἰς ταὐτὸ πράους τε παρέχει καὶ χειροήθεις ἀλλήλοις. ὧν οὖν ἀκηκόατε πολλάκις ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ παρατρεφόμενοι κεφάλαια συντάξας ἔν τισιν ὁμοιότησι βραχείαις, ὡς εὐμνημόνευτα μᾶλλον εἴη, κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις πέμπω δῶρον, εὐχόμενος τῇ

[1] ἐνδιδόν τε F.C.B. : ἐπᾴδοντες Sauppe : ἐνδιδόντα.

[a] *Cf.* O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, p. 1176. A few references are given regarding marriage rites and customs which are here touched upon, but anyone interested in these matters will consult some book like Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (5th ed. 1922).

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Moralia*, 704 F.

ADVICE TO BRIDE AND GROOM

From Plutarch to Pollianus and Eurydice, health and prosperity.

Following close upon the time-honoured rites which the priestess of Demeter [a] applied to you when you were retiring together to the bridal chamber, a discourse which equally touches both of you and swells the nuptial song will, I think, have a useful effect which will also accord with convention.

In music they used to call one of the conventional themes for the flute the "Horse Rampant," [b] a strain which, as it seems, aroused an ardent desire in horses and imparted it to them at the time of mating. Of the many admirable themes contained in philosophy, that which deals with marriage deserves no less serious attention than any other, for by means of it philosophy weaves a spell over those who are entering together into a lifelong partnership, and renders them gentle and amiable toward each other. I have therefore drawn up a compendium of what you, who have been brought up in the atmosphere of philosophy, have often heard, putting it in the form of brief comparisons that it may be more easily remembered, and I am sending it as a gift for you both to possess in common; and at the same time I pray that the

(138) Ἀφροδίτῃ τὰς Μούσας παρεῖναι καὶ συνεργεῖν, ὡς μήτε λύραν τινὰ μήτε κιθάραν μᾶλλον αὐταῖς ἢ τὴν περὶ γάμον καὶ οἶκον ἐμμέλειαν ἡρμοσμένην παρέχειν διὰ λόγου καὶ ἁρμονίας καὶ φιλοσοφίας προσῆκον. καὶ γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τὸν Ἑρμῆν συγκαθίδρυσαν, ὡς τῆς περὶ τὸν γάμον
D ἡδονῆς μάλιστα λόγου δεομένης, τήν τε Πειθὼ καὶ τὰς Χάριτας, ἵνα πείθοντες διαπράττωνται παρ' ἀλλήλων ἃ βούλονται, μὴ μαχόμενοι μηδὲ φιλονεικοῦντες.

1. Ὁ Σόλων ἐκέλευε τὴν νύμφην τῷ νυμφίῳ συγκατακλίνεσθαι μήλου κυδωνίου κατατραγοῦσαν, αἰνιττόμενος ὡς ἔοικεν ὅτι δεῖ τὴν ἀπὸ στόματος καὶ φωνῆς χάριν εὐάρμοστον εἶναι πρῶτον καὶ ἡδεῖαν.

2. Ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ τὴν νύμφην κατακαλύψαντες ἀσφαραγωνιᾷ[1] στεφανοῦσιν· ἐκείνη τε γὰρ ἥδιστον ἐκ τραχυτάτης ἀκάνθης καρπὸν ἀναδίδωσιν, ἥ τε νύμφη τῷ μὴ φυγόντι μηδὲ[2] δυσχεράναντι τὴν πρώτην χαλεπότητα καὶ ἀηδίαν αὐτῆς ἥμερον καὶ
E γλυκεῖαν παρέξει συμβίωσιν. οἱ δὲ τὰς πρώτας τῶν παρθένων διαφορὰς μὴ ὑπομείναντες οὐδὲν ἀπολείπουσι τῶν διὰ τὸν ὄμφακα τὴν σταφυλὴν ἑτέροις προϊεμένων. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν νεογάμων δυσχεράνασαι διὰ τὰ πρῶτα τοὺς νυμφίους ὅμοιον

[1] ἀσφαραγιῶν ταινίᾳ?
[2] μηδὲ Sauppe: μήτε.

[a] Hermes as the patron of arts and sciences, including

Muses may lend their presence and co-operation to Aphrodite, and may feel that it is no more fitting for them to provide a lyre or lute well attuned than it is to provide that the harmony which concerns marriage and the household shall be well attuned through reason, concord, and philosophy. Indeed, the ancients gave Hermes[a] a place at the side of Aphrodite, in the conviction that the pleasure in marriage stands especially in need of reason; and they also assigned a place there to Persuasion and the Graces, so that married people should succeed in attaining their mutual desires by persuasion and not by fighting and quarrelling.

1. Solon[b] directed that the bride should nibble a quince before getting into bed, intimating, presumably, that the delight from lips and speech should be harmonious and pleasant at the outset.

2. In Boeotia, after veiling the bride, they put on her head a chaplet of asparagus; for this plant yields the finest flavoured fruit from the roughest thorns, and so the bride will provide for him who does not run away or feel annoyed at her first display of peevishness and unpleasantness a docile and sweet life together. Those who do not patiently put up with the early girlish disagreements are on a par with those who on account of the sourness of green grapes abandon the ripe clusters to others. Again, many of the newly married women because of their first experiences get annoyed at their husbands, and find

speaking and writing; *cf.*, for example, the familiar instance in *Acts* xiv. 12.

[b] Plutarch mentions this again in *Moralia*, 279 F, and in his *Life of Solon*, chap. xx. (p. 89 C).

ἔπαθον πάθος τοῖς τὴν μὲν πληγὴν τῆς μελίττης ὑπομείνασι, τὸ δὲ κηρίον προεμένοις.

3. Ἐν ἀρχῇ μάλιστα δεῖ τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ τὰς προσκρούσεις φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς γεγαμηκότας, ὁρῶντας ὅτι καὶ τὰ συναρμοσθέντα τῶν σκευῶν κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τυχούσης ῥᾳδίως διασπᾶται προ-
F φάσεως, χρόνῳ δὲ τῶν ἁρμῶν σύμπηξιν λαβόντων μόλις ὑπὸ πυρὸς καὶ σιδήρου διαλύεται.

4. Ὥσπερ τὸ πῦρ ἐξάπτεται μὲν εὐχερῶς ἐν ἀχύροις καὶ θρυαλλίδι καὶ θριξὶ λαγῴαις, σβέννυται δὲ τάχιον ἂν μή τινος ἑτέρου δυναμένου στέγειν ἅμα καὶ τρέφειν ἐπιλάβηται,[1] οὕτω τὸν ἀπὸ σώματος καὶ ὥρας ὀξὺν ἔρωτα τῶν νεογάμων ἀναφλεγόμενον δεῖ μὴ διαρκῆ μηδὲ βέβαιον νομίζειν, ἂν μὴ περὶ τὸ ἦθος ἱδρυθεὶς καὶ τοῦ φρονοῦντος ἁψάμενος ἔμψυχον λάβῃ διάθεσιν.

139 5. Ἡ διὰ τῶν φαρμάκων θήρα ταχὺ μὲν αἱρεῖ καὶ λαμβάνει ῥᾳδίως τὸν ἰχθύν, ἄβρωτον δὲ ποιεῖ καὶ φαῦλον· οὕτως αἱ φίλτρα τινὰ καὶ γοητείας ἐπιτεχνώμεναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ χειρούμεναι δι' ἡδονῆς αὐτοὺς ἐμπλήκτοις καὶ ἀνοήτοις καὶ διεφθαρμένοις συμβιοῦσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν Κίρκην ὤνησαν οἱ καταφαρμακευθέντες, οὐδ' ἐχρήσατο πρὸς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὑσὶ καὶ ὄνοις γενομένοις, τὸν δ' Ὀδυσσέα νοῦν ἔχοντα καὶ συνόντα φρονίμως ὑπερηγάπησεν.

6. Αἱ βουλόμεναι μᾶλλον ἀνοήτων κρατεῖν ἀνδρῶν ἢ φρονίμων ἀκούειν ἐοίκασι τοῖς ἐν ὁδῷ

[1] *Cf. Moralia*, 454 E.

themselves in like predicament with those who patiently submit to the bees' stings, but abandon the honeycomb.

3. In the beginning, especially, married people ought to be on their guard against disagreements and clashes, for they see that such household vessels as are made of sections joined together are at the outset easily pulled apart by any fortuitous cause, but after a time, when their joints have become set, they can hardly be separated by fire and steel.

4. Just as fire catches readily in chaff, fibre, and hares' fur, but goes out rather quickly, unless it gets hold of some other thing that can retain it and feed it, so the keen love between newly married people that blazes up fiercely as the result of physical attractiveness must not be regarded as enduring or constant, unless, by being centred about character and by gaining a hold upon the rational faculties, it attains a state of vitality.

5. Fishing with poison is a quick way to catch fish and an easy method of taking them, but it makes the fish inedible and bad. In the same way women who artfully employ love-potions and magic spells upon their husbands, and gain the mastery over them through pleasure, find themselves consorts of dull-witted, degenerate fools. The men bewitched by Circe were of no service to her, nor did she make the least use of them after they had been changed into swine and asses, while for Odysseus, who had sense and showed discretion in her company, she had an exceeding great love.

6. Women who prefer to have power over fools rather than to hearken to sensible men, are like persons who prefer to guide the blind on the road

(139) βουλομένοις μᾶλλον ὁδηγεῖν τυφλοὺς ἢ τοῖς γιγνώσκουσιν ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ βλέπουσι.

B 7. Τὴν Πασιφάην ἀπιστοῦσι βοὸς ἐρασθῆναι βασιλεῖ συνοῦσαν, ἐνίας ὁρῶσαι τοὺς μὲν αὐστηροὺς καὶ σώφρονας βαρυνομένας, τοῖς δ' ἐξ ἀκρασίας καὶ φιληδονίας κεκραμένοις ὥσπερ κυσὶν ἢ τράγοις ἥδιον συνούσας.

8. Οἱ τοῖς ἵπποις ἐφάλλεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενοι δι' ἀσθένειαν ἢ μαλακίαν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὀκλάζειν καὶ ὑποπίπτειν διδάσκουσιν· οὕτως ἔνιοι τῶν λαβόντων εὐγενεῖς ἢ πλουσίας γυναῖκας οὐχ ἑαυτοὺς ποιοῦσι βελτίους ἀλλ' ἐκείνας περικολούουσιν, ὡς μᾶλλον ἄρξοντες ταπεινῶν γενομένων. δεῖ δ' ὥσπερ ἵππου τὸ μέγεθος φυλάττοντα καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς γυναικὸς χρῆσθαι τῷ χαλινῷ.

C 9. Τὴν σελήνην, ὅταν ἀποστῇ τοῦ ἡλίου, περιφανῆ καὶ λαμπρὰν ὁρῶμεν, ἀφανίζεται δὲ καὶ κρύπτεται πλησίον γενομένη· τὴν δὲ σώφρονα γυναῖκα δεῖ τοὐναντίον ὁρᾶσθαι μάλιστα μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὖσαν, οἰκουρεῖν δὲ καὶ κρύπτεσθαι μὴ παρόντος.

10. Οὐκ ὀρθῶς Ἡρόδοτος εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ γυνὴ ἅμα τῷ χιτῶνι ἐκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ· τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἡ σώφρων ἀντενδύεται τὴν αἰδῶ, καὶ τοῦ μάλιστα φιλεῖν τῷ μάλιστα αἰδεῖσθαι συμβόλῳ χρῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

11. Ὥσπερ ἂν φθόγγοι δύο σύμφωνοι ληφθῶσι, D τοῦ βαρυτέρου γίγνεται τὸ μέλος, οὕτω πᾶσα πρᾶξις ἐν οἰκίᾳ σωφρονούσῃ πράττεται μὲν ὑπ'

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[a] Herodotus, i. 8. *Cf.* Plutarch, *Moralia*, 37 c, and Hieronymus, *Adversus Iovinianum*, chap. xlviii. (vol. ii. p. 292 of Migne's edition).

rather than to follow persons possessed of knowledge and sight.

7. Women will not believe that Pasiphaë, the consort of a king, fell in love with a bull, in spite of the fact that they see some of their sex who feel bored by uncompromising and virtuous men, and take more pleasure in consorting with those who, like dogs and he-goats, are a combination of licentiousness and sensuality.

8. Men who through weakness or effeminacy are unable to vault upon their horses teach the horses to kneel of themselves and crouch down. In like manner, some who have won wives of noble birth or wealth, instead of making themselves better, try to humble their wives, with the idea that they shall have more authority over their wives if these are reduced to a state of humility. But, as one pays heed to the size of his horse in using the rein, so in using the rein on his wife he ought to pay heed to her position.

9. Whenever the moon is at a distance from the sun we see her conspicuous and brilliant, but she disappears and hides herself when she comes near him. Contrariwise a virtuous woman ought to be most visible in her husband's company, and to stay in the house and hide herself when he is away.

10. Herodotus was not right in saying [a] that a woman lays aside her modesty along with her undergarment. On the contrary, a virtuous woman puts on modesty in its stead, and husband and wife bring into their mutual relations the greatest modesty as a token of the greatest love.

11. Whenever two notes are sounded in accord the tune is carried by the bass ; and in like manner every activity in a virtuous household is carried on

(139) ἀμφοτέρων ὁμονοούντων, ἐπιφαίνει δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονίαν καὶ προαίρεσιν.

12. Ὁ ἥλιος τὸν βορέαν ἐνίκησεν. ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ μὲν ἀνέμου βιαζομένου τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀφελέσθαι καὶ λαμπρὸν καταπνέοντος μᾶλλον ἔσφιγγε καὶ συνεῖχε τὴν περιβολήν· τοῦ δ' ἡλίου μετὰ τὸ πνεῦμα θερμοῦ γενομένου θαλπόμενος εἶτα καυματιζόμενος καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα τῷ ἱματίῳ προσαπεδύσατο. τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν αἱ πλεῖσται γυναῖκες· ἀφαιρουμένοις
E τοῖς ἀνδράσι βίᾳ τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ τὴν πολυτέλειαν διαμάχονται καὶ χαλεπαίνουσιν· ἂν δὲ πείθωνται μετὰ λόγου, πράως ἀποτίθενται καὶ μετριάζουσιν.

13. Ὁ Κάτων ἐξέβαλε τῆς βουλῆς τὸν φιλήσαντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα τῆς θυγατρὸς παρούσης. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἴσως σφοδρότερον· εἰ δ' αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἐστίν, ἑτέρων παρόντων ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ φιλεῖν καὶ περιβάλλειν ἀλλήλους, πῶς οὐκ αἴσχιον ἑτέρων παρόντων λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τὰς[1] μὲν ἐντεύξεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας ἀπορρήτους πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα
F ποιεῖσθαι, νουθεσίᾳ δὲ καὶ μέμψει καὶ παρρησίᾳ χρῆσθαι φανερᾷ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένῃ;

14. Ὥσπερ ἐσόπτρου κατεσκευασμένου χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις ὄφελος οὐδέν ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ δείκνυσι τὴν μορφὴν ὁμοίαν, οὕτως οὐδὲ πλουσίας γαμετῆς ὄνησις, εἰ μὴ παρέχει τὸν βίον ὅμοιον τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σύμφωνον τὸ ἦθος. εἰ χαίροντος μὲν εἰκόνα σκυθρωπὴν ἀποδίδωσι τὸ ἔσοπτρον, ἀχθομένου δὲ

[1] καὶ τὰς Xylander: τὰς.

[a] Nos. 306 and 307 of the Fables which pass under the name of Aesop. *Cf.* also Athenaeus, 604 f.

by both parties in agreement, but discloses the husband's leadership and preferences.

12. The Sun won a victory over the North Wind.[a] For the wind tried by force to rob a man of his cloak, and blew briskly against him, but the man only drew his garment closer, and held it more tightly together. But when the heat of the sun succeeded the wind, the man began to get warm, and later very hot, and ended by stripping off his shirt as well as his cloak. This is the way most women act. When their husbands try forcibly to remove their luxury and extravagance they keep up a continual fight and are very cross; but if they are convinced with the help of reason, they peaceably put aside these things and practise moderation.

13. Cato expelled from the Senate[b] a man who kissed his own wife in the presence of his daughter. This perhaps was a little severe. But if it is a disgrace (as it is) for man and wife to caress and kiss and embrace in the presence of others, is it not more of a disgrace to air their recriminations and disagreements before others, and, granting that his intimacies and pleasures with his wife should be carried on in secret, to indulge in admonition, faultfinding, and plain speaking in the open and without reserve?

14. Just as a mirror, although embellished with gold and precious stones, is good for nothing unless it shows a true likeness, so there is no advantage in a rich wife unless she makes her life true to her husband's and her character in accord with his. If the mirror gives back a gloomy image of a glad man,

[b] The story is told with more humorous details by Plutarch in his *Life of Cato Major*, chap. xvii. (p. 346 c).

καὶ σκυθρωπάζοντας ἱλαρὰν καὶ σεσηρυῖαν, ἡμαρτημένον ἐστὶ καὶ φαῦλον. οὐκοῦν καὶ γυνὴ φαῦλος καὶ ἄκαιρος ἡ παίζειν μὲν ὡρμημένου καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐσκυθρωπακυῖα, σπουδάζοντος δὲ παίζουσα καὶ γελῶσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀηδίας,
140 τὸ δ' ὀλιγωρίας. δεῖ δέ, ὥσπερ οἱ γεωμέτραι λέγουσι τὰς γραμμὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιφανείας οὐ κινεῖσθαι καθ' ἑαυτὰς ἀλλὰ συγκινεῖσθαι τοῖς σώμασιν, οὕτω τὴν γυναῖκα μηδὲν ἴδιον πάθος ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ κοινωνεῖν τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σπουδῆς καὶ παιδιᾶς καὶ συννοίας καὶ γέλωτος.

15. Οἱ τὰς γυναῖκας μὴ ἡδέως βλέποντες ἐσθιούσας μετ' αὐτῶν διδάσκουσιν ἐμπίπλασθαι μόνας γενομένας. οὕτως οἱ μὴ συνόντες ἱλαρῶς ταῖς γυναιξὶ μηδὲ παιδιᾶς κοινωνοῦντες αὐταῖς καὶ γέλωτος ἰδίας ἡδονὰς χωρὶς αὐτῶν ζητεῖν διδάσκουσιν.

B 16. Τοῖς τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῦσιν αἱ γνήσιαι γυναῖκες παρακάθηνται δειπνοῦσι καὶ συνεστιῶνται· βουλόμενοι δὲ παίζειν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι ταύτας μὲν ἀποπέμπουσι, ⌈τὰς δὲ μουσουργοὺς καὶ παλλακίδας καλοῦσιν, ὀρθῶς τοῦτό γ' αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες, ὅτι τοῦ[1] συνακολασταίνειν καὶ παροινεῖν οὐ μεταδιδόασι ταῖς γαμεταῖς.⌋ ἂν οὖν ἰδιώτης ἀνήρ, ἀκρατὴς δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀνάγωγος, ἐξαμάρτῃ τι πρὸς ἑταίραν ἢ θεραπαινίδα, δεῖ τὴν γαμετὴν μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν μηδὲ χαλεπαίνειν, λογιζομένην ὅτι παροινίας καὶ ἀκολασίας καὶ ὕβρεως αἰδούμενος αὐτὴν ἑτέρᾳ μεταδίδωσιν.

[1] τοῦ Hatzidakis, Hartman, and Kronenberg, all independently apparently (!), now confirmed by two MSS. according to the Teubner edition of 1925: τό.

or a cheerful and grinning image of a troubled and gloomy man, it is a failure and worthless. So too a wife is worthless and lacking in sense of fitness who puts on a gloomy face when her husband is bent on being sportive and gay, and again, when he is serious, is sportive and mirthful. The one smacks of disagreeableness, the other of indifference. Just as lines and surfaces, in mathematical parlance, have no motion of their own but only in conjunction with the bodies to which they belong,[a] so the wife ought to have no feeling of her own, but she should join with her husband in seriousness and sportiveness and in soberness and laughter.

15. Men who do not like to see their wives eat in their company are thus teaching them to stuff themselves when alone. So those who are not cheerful in the company of their wives, nor join with them in sportiveness and laughter, are thus teaching them to seek their own pleasures apart from their husbands.

16. The lawful wives of the Persian kings sit beside them at dinner, and eat with them. But when the kings wish to be merry and get drunk, they send their wives away, and send for their music-girls and concubines.[b] In so far they are right in what they do, because they do not concede any share in their licentiousness and debauchery to their wedded wives. If therefore a man in private life, who is incontinent and dissolute in regard to his pleasures, commit some peccadillo with a paramour or a maidservant, his wedded wife ought not to be indignant or angry, but she should reason that it is respect for her which leads him to share his debauchery, licentiousness, and wantonness with another woman.

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 63 B.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 613 A.

C 17. Οἱ φιλόμουσοι τῶν βασιλέων πολλοὺς μουσικοὺς ποιοῦσιν, οἱ φιλόλογοι λογίους, οἱ φιλαθληταὶ γυμναστικούς. οὕτως ἀνὴρ φιλοσώματος καλλωπίστριαν γυναῖκα ποιεῖ, φιλήδονος ἑταιρικὴν καὶ ἀκόλαστον, φιλάγαθος καὶ φιλόκαλος σώφρονα καὶ κοσμίαν.

(140)

18. Λάκαινα παιδίσκη, πυνθανομένου τινὸς εἰ ἤδη τἀνδρὶ[1] προσελήλυθεν, "οὐκ ἔγωγ'," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ ἐκεῖνος." οὗτος ὁ τρόπος, οἶμαι, τῆς οἰκοδεσποίνης, μήτε φεύγειν μήτε δυσχεραίνειν τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρχομένου μήτ' αὐτὴν κατ-
D άρχεσθαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἑταιρικὸν καὶ ἰταμόν, τὸ δ' ὑπερήφανον καὶ ἀφιλόστοργον.

19. Ἰδίους οὐ δεῖ φίλους κτᾶσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα, κοινοῖς δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρός· οἱ δὲ θεοὶ φίλοι πρῶτοι καὶ μέγιστοι. διὸ καὶ θεοὺς οὓς ὁ ἀνὴρ νομίζει σέβεσθαι τῇ γαμετῇ καὶ γιγνώσκειν μόνους προσήκει, περιέργοις δὲ θρησκείαις καὶ ξέναις δεισιδαιμονίαις ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι τὴν αὔλειον. οὐδενὶ γὰρ θεῶν ἱερὰ κλεπτόμενα καὶ λανθάνοντα δρᾶται κεχαρισμένως ὑπὸ γυναικός.

20. Ὁ Πλάτων φησὶν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακαρίαν εἶναι πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ "τὸ ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ[2] οὐκ ἐμὸν"
E ἥκιστα φθεγγομένων ἀκούουσι διὰ τὸ κοινοῖς ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀξίοις σπουδῆς τοὺς πολίτας. ⌈πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκ γάμου δεῖ τὴν

[1] τἀνδρὶ Platt: ἀνδρί.
[2] καὶ τὸ Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, lxxiv. 43: καὶ.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 242 B.
[b] *Republic*, p. 462 C. *Cf.* also Plutarch, *Moralia*, 484 B and 767 D.

17. Kings fond of the arts make many persons incline to be artists, those fond of letters make many want to be scholars, and those fond of sport make many take up athletics. In like manner a man fond of his personal appearance makes a wife all paint and powder; one fond of pleasure makes her meretricious and licentious, while a husband who loves what is good and honourable makes a wife discreet and well-behaved.

18. A young Spartan woman, in answer to an inquiry as to whether she had already made advances to her husband, said, "No, but he has made them to me."[a] This behaviour, I take it, is characteristic of the true mistress of the household, on the one hand not to avoid or to feel annoyed at such actions on the part of her husband if he begins them, and on the other not to take the initiative herself; for the one course is meretricious and froward, the other disdainful and unamiable.

19. A wife ought not to make friends of her own, but to enjoy her husband's friends in common with him. The gods are the first and most important friends. Wherefore it is becoming for a wife to worship and to know only the gods that her husband believes in, and to shut the front door tight upon all queer rituals and outlandish superstitions. For with no god do stealthy and secret rites performed by a woman find any favour.

20. Plato[b] asserts that the state is prosperous and happy in which the people hear "mine" and "not mine" most rarely uttered, the reason being that the citizens, so far as in them lies, treat all things of real importance as common property. Much more should such expressions be eliminated from the

τοιαύτην φωνὴν ἀνῃρῆσθαι. πλὴν ὥσπερ οἱ ἰατροὶ λέγουσι τὰς τῶν εὐωνύμων πληγὰς τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς ἀναφέρειν, οὕτω τὴν γυναῖκα τοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς συμπαθεῖν καλὸν[1] καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῖς τῆς γυναικός, ἵν' ὥσπερ οἱ δεσμοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπάλλαξιν ἰσχὺν δι' ἀλλήλων λαμβάνουσιν, οὕτως ἑκατέρου τὴν εὔνοιαν ἀντίστροφον ἀποδιδόντος ἡ κοινωνία σῴζηται δι' ἀμφοῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἡ φύσις
F μίγνυσι διὰ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμᾶς, ἵν' ἐξ ἑκατέρων μέρος λαβοῦσα καὶ συγχέασα κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδῷ τὸ γεννώμενον, ὥστε μηδέτερον διορίσαι μηδὲ διακρῖναι τὸ ἴδιον ἢ τὸ ἀλλότριον. αὕτη τοίνυν καὶ χρημάτων κοινωνία προσήκει μάλιστα τοῖς γαμοῦσιν, εἰς μίαν οὐσίαν πάντα καταχεαμένοις καὶ ἀναμείξασι μὴ τὸ μέρος ἴδιον καὶ τὸ μέρος ἀλλότριον ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἴδιον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἀλλότριον. ὥσπερ τὸ κρᾶμα καίτοι ὕδατος μετέχον πλείονος οἶνον καλοῦμεν, οὕτω τὴν οὐσίαν δεῖ καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λέγεσθαι, κἂν ἡ γυνὴ πλείονα συμβάλληται.

21. Φιλόπλουτος ἡ Ἑλένη, φιλήδονος ὁ Πάρις· φρόνιμος ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς, σώφρων ἡ Πηνελόπη. διὰ τοῦτο μακάριος γάμος ὁ τούτων καὶ ζηλωτός, ὁ
141 δ' ἐκείνων Ἰλιάδα κακῶν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις ἐποίησεν.

22. Ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων νουθετούμενος ὅτι σώφρονα γυναῖκα καὶ πλουσίαν καὶ ὡραίαν ἀπ-

[1] καλὸν Wyttenbach: μᾶλλον.

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius Paulus*, chap. v. (p.

married state; save that, as physicians tell us that blows on the left side of the body record the sensation on the right side, so, in the same way, it is a lovely thing for the wife to sympathize with her husband's concerns and the husband with the wife's, so that, as ropes, by being intertwined, get strength from each other, thus, by the due contribution of goodwill in corresponding measure by each member, the copartnership may be preserved through the joint action of both. For Nature unites us through the commingling of our bodies, in order that, by taking and blending together a portion derived from each member of a pair, the offspring which she produces may be common to both, so that neither can define or distinguish his own or the other's part therein. Such a copartnership in property as well is especially befitting married people, who should pour all their resources into a common fund, and combine them, and each should not regard one part as his own and another part as the other's, but all as his own and nothing as the other's. As we call a mixture "wine," although the larger of the component parts is water, so the property and the estate ought to be said to belong to the husband even though the wife contribute the larger share.

21. Helen was fond of wealth and Paris of pleasure; Odysseus was sensible and Penelope virtuous. Therefore the marriage of the latter pair was happy and enviable, while that of the former created an "Iliad of woes" for Greeks and barbarians.

22. The Roman,[a] on being admonished by his friends because he had put away a virtuous, wealthy,

257 B), and Hieronymus, *Adversus Iovinianum*, i. chap. xlviii. (vol. ii. p. 292 of Migne's edition).

(141) ἐπέμψατο, τὸν κάλτιον[1] αὐτοῖς προτείνας "καὶ γὰρ οὗτος," ἔφη, "καλὸς ἰδεῖν καὶ καινός, ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς οἶδεν ὅπου με θλίβει." δεῖ τοίνυν μὴ προικὶ μηδὲ γένει μηδὲ κάλλει τὴν γυναῖκα πιστεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἅπτεται μάλιστα τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὁμιλίᾳ τε καὶ ἤθει καὶ συμπεριφορᾷ, ταῦτα μὴ σκληρὰ μηδ' ἀνιῶντα
B καθ' ἡμέραν ἀλλ' εὐάρμοστα καὶ ἄλυπα καὶ προσφιλῆ παρέχειν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ ἰατροὶ τοὺς ἐξ αἰτιῶν ἀδήλων καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν συλλεγομένων γεννωμένους πυρετοὺς μᾶλλον δεδοίκασιν ἢ τοὺς ἐμφανεῖς καὶ μεγάλας προφάσεις ἔχοντας, οὕτω τὰ λανθάνοντα τοὺς πολλοὺς μικρὰ καὶ συνεχῆ καὶ καθημερινὰ προσκρούματα γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς μᾶλλον διίστησι καὶ λυμαίνεται τὴν συμβίωσιν.

23. Ὁ βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος ἤρα Θεσσαλῆς γυναικὸς αἰτίαν ἐχούσης καταφαρμακεύειν αὐτόν. ἐσπούδασεν οὖν ἡ Ὀλυμπιὰς λαβεῖν τὴν ἄνθρωπον ὑποχείριον. ὡς δ' εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθοῦσα τό τ' εἶδος εὐπρεπὴς ἐφάνη καὶ διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτὴν οὐκ
C ἀγεννῶς οὐδ' ἀσυνέτως, "χαιρέτωσαν," εἶπεν ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς, "αἱ διαβολαί. σὺ γὰρ ἐν σεαυτῇ τὰ φάρμακα ἔχεις." ἄμαχον οὖν τι γίγνεται πρᾶγμα γαμετὴ γυνὴ καὶ νόμιμος, ἂν ἐν αὑτῇ πάντα θεμένη, καὶ προῖκα καὶ γένος καὶ φάρμακα καὶ τὸν κεστὸν αὐτόν, ἤθει καὶ ἀρετῇ κατεργάσηται τὴν εὔνοιαν.

24. Πάλιν ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς, αὐλικοῦ τινος νεανίσκου γήμαντος εὐπρεπῆ γυναῖκα κακῶς ἀκούουσαν,

[1] κάλτιον in *Life of Aemilius Paulus*, p. 257 B: κάλπιον, καλλίγιον Stobaeus, lxxiv. 45.

[a] Much the same story is told of the wife of Hystaspes by

and lovely wife, reached out his shoe and said, "Yes, this is beautiful to look at, and new, but nobody knows where it pinches me." A wife, then, ought not to rely on her dowry or birth or beauty, but on things in which she gains the greatest hold on her husband, namely conversation, character, and comradeship, which she must render not perverse or vexatious day by day, but accommodating, inoffensive, and agreeable. For, as physicians have more fear of fevers that originate from obscure causes and gradual accretion than of those which may be accounted for by manifest and weighty reasons, so it is the petty, continual, daily clashes between man and wife, unnoticed by the great majority, that disrupt and mar married life.

23. King Philip was enamoured of a Thessalian woman who was accused of using magic charms upon him. Olympias accordingly made haste to get the woman into her power. But when the latter had come into the queen's presence and was seen to be beautiful in appearance, and her conversation with the queen was not lacking in good-breeding or cleverness, Olympias exclaimed, "Away with these slanders! You have your magic charms in yourself." [a] And so a wedded and lawful wife becomes an irresistible thing if she makes everything, dowry, birth, magic charms, and even the magic girdle [b] itself, to be inherent in herself, and by character and virtue succeeds in winning her husband's love.

24. On another occasion, when a young man of the court had married a beautiful woman [c] of bad reputa-

Satyrus in his Life of Euripides (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ix. p. 157).

[b] Homer, *Il.* xiv. 214.

[c] Pantica of Cyprus, according to Phylarchus, as quoted by Athenaeus, 609 c.

(141) "οὗτος," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἔχει λογισμόν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔγημε." δεῖ δὲ μὴ τοῖς ὄμμασι γαμεῖν μηδὲ τοῖς δακτύλοις, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι ψηφί-
D σαντες πόσα φέρουσαν λαμβάνουσιν, οὐ κρίναντες πῶς συμβιωσομένην.

25. Ὁ Σωκράτης ἐκέλευε τῶν ἐσοπτριζομένων νεανίσκων τοὺς μὲν αἰσχροὺς ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τῇ ἀρετῇ, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς μὴ καταισχύνειν τῇ κακίᾳ τὸ εἶδος. καλὸν οὖν καὶ τὴν οἰκοδέσποιναν, ὅταν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχῃ τὸ ἔσοπτρον, αὐτὴν ἐν ἑαυτῇ διαλαλεῖν, τὴν μὲν αἰσχράν "τί οὖν, ἂν μὴ σώφρων γένωμαι;" τὴν δὲ καλήν "τί οὖν, ἂν καὶ σώφρων γένωμαι;" τῇ γὰρ αἰσχρᾷ σεμνὸν εἰ φιλεῖται διὰ τὸ ἦθος μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ κάλλος.

26. Ταῖς Λυσάνδρου θυγατράσιν ὁ τύραννος ὁ Σικελικὸς ἱμάτια καὶ πλόκια τῶν πολυτελῶν ἔπεμ-
E ψεν· ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος οὐκ ἔλαβεν εἰπών, "ταῦτα τὰ κόσμια καταισχυνεῖ μου μᾶλλον ἢ κοσμήσει τὰς θυγατέρας." πρότερος δὲ Λυσάνδρου Σοφοκλῆς τοῦτ' εἶπεν,

> οὐ κόσμος, οὔκ, ὦ τλῆμον, ἀλλ' ἀκοσμία
> φαίνοιτ' ἂν εἶναι σῶν τε μαργότης φρενῶν.

"κόσμος γάρ ἐστιν," ὡς ἔλεγε Κράτης, "τὸ κοσμοῦν." κοσμεῖ δὲ τὸ κοσμιωτέραν τὴν γυναῖκα ποιοῦν. ποιεῖ δὲ τοιαύτην οὔτε χρυσὸς οὔτε σμά-

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[a] Attributed to Bias by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, iii. 79 ϛ, and by Demetrius Phalereus, *Sayings of the Seven Wise Men*. Other authors (*e.g.* Diogenes Laertius, ii. 33) assign it to Socrates.

[b] Dionysius according to Plutarch, *Moralia*, 190 E, 229 A, and *Life of Lysander*, chap. ii. (p. 439 D). The same story is told of Archidamus in *Moralia* 218 E.

tion, Olympias said, "That fellow has no brains; else he would not have married on sight." Marriages ought not to be made by trusting the eyes only, or the fingers either, as is the case with some who take a wife after counting up how much she brings with her, but without deciding what kind of a helpmate she will be.

25. Socrates[a] used to urge the ill-favoured among the mirror-gazing youth to make good their defect by virtue, and the handsome not to disgrace their face and figure by vice. So too it is an admirable thing for the mistress of the household, whenever she holds her mirror in her hands, to talk with herself—for the ill-favoured woman to say to herself, "What if I am not virtuous?" and the beautiful one, "What if I am virtuous as well?" For if the ill-favoured woman is loved for her character, that is something of which she can be very proud, far more than if she were loved for her beauty.

26. The Sicilian despot[b] sent clothing and jewellery of the costly kind to the daughters of Lysander; but Lysander would not accept them, saying, "These adornments will disgrace my daughters far more than they will adorn them." But Sophocles,[c] before Lysander, had said this:

> Adornment! No, you wretch! Naught that adorns
> 'Twould seem to be—your crazy mind's desire.

For, as Crates used to say, "adornment is that which adorns," and that adorns or decorates a woman which makes her more decorous. It is not gold or precious stones or scarlet that makes her such, but

[c] From an unknown play; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 310, Sophocles, No. 762.

ραγδος οὔτε κόκκος, ἀλλ' ὅσα σεμνότητος εὐταξίας αἰδοῦς ἔμφασιν περιτίθησιν.

27. *Οἱ τῇ γαμηλίᾳ θύοντες Ἥρᾳ τὴν χολὴν οὐ*
F *συγκαθαγίζουσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς, ἀλλ' ἐξελόντες ἔρριψαν παρὰ τὸν βωμόν, αἰνιττομένου τοῦ νομοθέτου τὸ μηδέποτε δεῖν χολὴν μηδ' ὀργὴν γάμῳ παρεῖναι. [δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τῆς οἰκοδεσποίνης ὥσπερ οἴνου τὸ αὐστηρὸν ὠφέλιμον καὶ ἡδύ, μὴ πικρὸν ὥσπερ ἀλόης μηδὲ φαρμακῶδες.]*

28. *Ὁ Πλάτων τῷ Ξενοκράτει βαρυτέρῳ τὸ ἦθος ὄντι τἄλλα δὲ καλῷ κἀγαθῷ παρεκελεύετο θύειν ταῖς Χάρισιν. οἶμαι δὴ καὶ τῇ σώφρονι μάλιστα δεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα χαρίτων, ἵν', ὡς ἔλεγε*
142 *Μητρόδωρος, "ἡδέως συνοικῇ καὶ μὴ ὀργιζομένη ὅτι σωφρονεῖ." δεῖ γὰρ μήτε τὴν εὐτελῆ καθαριότητος ἀμελεῖν μήτε τὴν φίλανδρον φιλοφροσύνης· ποιεῖ γὰρ ἡ χαλεπότης ἀηδῆ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῆς γυναικός, ὥσπερ ἡ ῥυπαρία τὴν ἀφέλειαν.*

29. *Ἡ φοβουμένη γελάσαι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ παῖξαι*[1] *τι, μὴ φανῇ θρασεῖα καὶ ἀκόλαστος, οὐδὲν διαφέρει τῆς ἵνα μὴ δοκῇ μυρίζεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν μηδ' ἀλειφομένης, καὶ ἵνα μὴ φυκοῦσθαι τὸ πρόσωπον μηδὲ νιπτομένης. ὁρῶμεν δὲ καὶ ποιητὰς καὶ ῥήτορας, ὅσοι φεύγουσι τὸ περὶ τὴν λέξιν ὀχλικὸν*
B *καὶ ἀνελεύθερον καὶ κακόζηλον, τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ*

[1] παῖξαι Wyttenbach: πρᾶξαι.

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[a] *Cf.* O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, p. 1134; also Plutarch, Frag. 2 of *De Daedalis Plataeensibus* (in Bernardakis's edition, vol. vii. p. 44).

[b] The same advice in *Moralia* 769 D, in Plutarch's *Life of C. Marius*, chap. ii. (p. 407 A), and a slightly different inference in *Moralia*, 753 C.

whatever invests her with that something which betokens dignity, good behaviour, and modesty.

27. Those who offer sacrifice to Hera, the Protectress of Wedlock,[a] do not consecrate the bitter gall with the other parts of the offering, but remove it and cast it beside the altar—an intimation on the part of him who established this custom that bitterness and anger ought never to find a place in married life. For the acerbity of the mistress, like that of wine, ought to be salutary and pleasant, not bitter like that of aloes, nor suggestive of a dose of medicine.

28. Plato[b] advised Xenocrates, who was somewhat churlish in character but otherwise a good and honourable man, to sacrifice to the Graces. It is my opinion that the virtuous woman has especial need of graces in her relations with her husband, in order that, as Metrodorus[c] used to put it, " she may live pleasantly with him and not be cross all the time because she is virtuous." The thrifty woman must not neglect cleanliness, nor the loving wife cheerfulness; for asperity makes a wife's correct behaviour disagreeable, just as untidiness has a similar effect upon plain living.

29. The woman who is afraid to laugh and jest a bit with her husband, lest possibly she appear bold and wanton, is no different from one who will not use oil on her head lest she be thought to use perfume, or from one who will not even wash her face lest she be thought to use rouge. But we observe both poets and public speakers, such as try to avoid vulgarity, narrowness, and affectation in their diction, employing all artistry to move and stir the

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 753 c.

(142) ταῖς οἰκονομίαις καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἄγειν καὶ κινεῖν τὸν ἀκροατὴν φιλοτεχνοῦντας. διὸ δεῖ καὶ τὴν οἰκοδέσποιναν ὅτι πᾶν τὸ περιττὸν καὶ ἑταιρικὸν καὶ πανηγυρικόν, εὖ ποιοῦσα, φεύγει καὶ παραιτεῖται, μᾶλλον φιλοτεχνεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἠθικαῖς καὶ βιωτικαῖς χάρισι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, τῷ καλῷ μεθ' ἡδονῆς συνεθίζουσαν αὐτόν. ἂν δ' ἄρα φύσει τις αὐστηρὰ καὶ ἄκρατος γένηται καὶ ἀνήδυντος, εὐγνωμονεῖν δεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ καθάπερ ὁ Φωκίων, τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου πρᾶξιν αὐτῷ προστάττοντος οὐ
C καλὴν οὐδὲ πρέπουσαν,[1] εἶπεν "οὐ δύνασαί μοι καὶ φίλῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ κόλακι," οὕτω λογίζεσθαι περὶ τῆς σώφρονος καὶ αὐστηρᾶς γυναικός "οὐ δύναμαι τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ὡς γαμετῇ καὶ ὡς ἑταίρᾳ συνεῖναι."

30. Ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις ὑποδήμασι χρῆσθαι πάτριον οὐκ ἦν, ὅπως ἐν οἴκῳ διημερεύωσι. τῶν δὲ πλείστων γυναικῶν ἂν ὑποδήματα διάχρυσα περιέλῃς καὶ ψέλλια καὶ περισκελίδας καὶ πορφύραν καὶ μαργαρίτας, ἔνδον μένουσιν.

31. Ἡ Θεανὼ παρέφηνε τὴν χεῖρα περιβαλλομένη τὸ ἱμάτιον. εἰπόντος δέ τινος[2] "καλὸς ὁ πῆχυς," "ἀλλ' οὐ δημόσιος," ἔφη. δεῖ δὲ μὴ μόνον
D τὸν πῆχυν ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὸν λόγον δημόσιον εἶναι τῆς σώφρονος, καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ὡς ἀπογύμνωσιν

[1] οὐκ οὖσαν δὲ πρέπουσαν Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, lxxiv. 49.
[2] εἰπόντος δέ τινος Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, lxxiv. 49: τινὸς δ' εἰπόντος.

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 64 C, 188 F, 533 D; Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxx. (p. 755 B); *Life of Agis*, chap. ii. (p. 795 E).

hearer by means of their subject matter, their handling of it, and their portrayal of characters. So too the mistress of the household, just because she avoids and deprecates everything extravagant, meretricious, and ostentatious (and she does well to do so), ought all the more, in the graces of her character and daily life, to employ all artistry upon her husband, habituating him to what is honourable and at the same time pleasant. However, if a woman is naturally uncompromising, arbitrary, and unpleasant, the husband must be considerate, and do as Phocion did when Antipater prescribed for him a dishonourable and unbecoming course of action. Phocion said, "You cannot use me as a friend and flatterer both,"[a] and so the husband must reason about his virtuous and uncompromising wife, "I cannot have the society of the same woman both as wife and as paramour."

30. The women of Egypt, by inherited custom, were not allowed to wear shoes,[b] so that they should stay at home all day; and most women, if you take from them gold-embroidered shoes, bracelets, anklets, purple, and pearls, stay indoors.

31. Theano,[c] in putting her cloak about her exposed her arm. Somebody exclaimed, "A lovely arm." "But not for the public," said she. Not only the arm of the virtuous woman, but her speech as well, ought to be not for the public, and she ought to be modest and guarded about saying anything

[b] This is quite contrary to the classical Greek tradition (Herodotus, ii. 35; Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus* 339), which errs just as badly in the other direction.

[c] Wife of Pythagoras the philosopher. The story is told a little more fully by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, iv. p. 522 c.

(142) αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός· ἐνορᾶται γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ πάθος καὶ ἦθος καὶ διάθεσις λαλούσης.

32. Τὴν Ἠλείων ὁ Φειδίας Ἀφροδίτην ἐποίησε χελώνην πατοῦσαν, οἰκουρίας σύμβολον ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ σιωπῆς. δεῖ γὰρ ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα λαλεῖν ἢ διὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός, μὴ δυσχεραίνουσαν εἰ δι' ἀλλοτρίας γλώττης ὥσπερ αὐλητὴς φθέγγεται σεμνότερον.[1]

33. Οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τιμῶντες τοὺς φιλοσόφους αὑτούς τε κοσμοῦσι κἀκείνους, οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι τοὺς πλουσίους θεραπεύοντες οὐκ ἐκεί-
E νους ποιοῦσιν ἐνδόξους ἀλλ' αὑτοὺς ἀδοξοτέρους. τοῦτο συμβαίνει καὶ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. ὑποτάττουσαι μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτὰς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπαινοῦνται, κρατεῖν δὲ βουλόμεναι μᾶλλον τῶν κρατουμένων ἀσχημονοῦσι. [κρατεῖν δὲ δεῖ[2] τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς γυναικὸς οὐχ ὡς δεσπότην κτήματος ἀλλ' ὡς ψυχὴν σώματος,] συμπαθοῦντα καὶ συμπεφυκότα τῇ εὐνοίᾳ.[2] ὥσπερ οὖν σώματος ἔστι κήδεσθαι μὴ δουλεύοντα ταῖς ἡδοναῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, οὕτω γυναικὸς ἄρχειν εὐφραίνοντα καὶ χαριζόμενον.

34. Τῶν σωμάτων οἱ φιλόσοφοι τὰ μὲν ἐκ διεστώτων λέγουσιν εἶναι καθάπερ στόλον καὶ
F στρατόπεδον, τὰ δ' ἐκ συναπτομένων ὡς οἰκίαν καὶ ναῦν, τὰ δ' ἡνωμένα καὶ συμφυῆ καθάπερ

[1] σεμνότερον] omitted by Stobaeus, *ibid.*, perhaps rightly.
[2] Many MSS. omit δεῖ and add δίκαιόν ἐστιν after εὐνοίᾳ.

[a] Pausanias, vi. 25. 1; *cf.* also Plutarch, *Moralia*, 381 E. Roscher, *Lexikon d. gr. u. rom. Mythologie*, i. p. 412,

in the hearing of outsiders, since it is an exposure of herself; for in her talk can be seen her feelings, character, and disposition.

32. Pheidias made the Aphrodite of the Eleans with one foot on a tortoise,[a] to typify for womankind keeping at home and keeping silence. For a woman ought to do her talking either to her husband or through her husband, and she should not feel aggrieved if, like the flute-player, she makes a more impressive sound through a tongue not her own.

33. Rich men and princes by conferring honours on philosophers adorn both themselves and the philosophers; but, on the other hand, philosophers by paying court to the rich do not enhance the repute of the rich but lower their own. So is it with women also; if they subordinate themselves to their husbands, they are commended, but if they want to have control, they cut a sorrier figure than the subjects of their control. And control ought to be exercised by the man over the woman, not as the owner has control of a piece of property, but, as the soul controls the body, by entering into her feelings and being knit to her through goodwill. As, therefore, it is possible to exercise care over the body without being a slave to its pleasures and desires, so it is possible to govern a wife, and at the same time to delight and gratify her.

34. Philosophers[b] say of bodies that some are composed of separate elements, as a fleet or an army, others of elements joined together, as a house or a ship, and still others form together an intimate union,

mentions two ancient bronzes, one Greek and one Etruscan, in which Aphrodite is represented with one foot on a tortoise.

[b] Undoubtedly the Stoic philosophers are meant; *cf. Moralia*, 426 A.

ἐστὶ τῶν ζῴων ἕκαστον. σχεδὸν οὖν καὶ γάμος ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐρώντων ἡνωμένος καὶ συμφυής ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ τῶν διὰ προῖκας ἢ τέκνα γαμούντων ἐκ συναπτομένων, ὁ δὲ τῶν συγκαθευδόντων[1] ἐκ διεστώτων, οὓς συνοικεῖν ἄν τις ἀλλήλοις οὐ συμβιοῦν νομίσειε. δεῖ δέ, ὥσπερ οἱ φυσικοὶ τῶν ὑγρῶν λέγουσι δι' ὅλων γενέσθαι τὴν κρᾶσιν,
143 οὕτω τῶν γαμούντων καὶ σώματα καὶ χρήματα καὶ φίλους καὶ οἰκείους ἀναμειχθῆναι δι' ἀλλήλων. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ῥωμαῖος νομοθέτης ἐκώλυσε δῶρα διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἀλλήλων τοὺς γεγαμηκότας, οὐχ ἵνα μηδενὸς μεταλαμβάνωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα πάντα κοινὰ νομίζωσιν.

35. Ἐν Λέπτει τῆς Λιβύης πόλει πάτριόν ἐστι τῇ μετὰ τὸν γάμον ἡμέρᾳ τὴν νύμφην πρὸς τὴν τοῦ νυμφίου μητέρα πέμψασαν αἰτεῖσθαι χύτραν· ἡ δ' οὐ δίδωσιν οὐδέ φησιν ἔχειν, ὅπως ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐπισταμένη τὸ τῆς ἑκυρᾶς μητρυιῶδες, ἂν ὕστερόν τι συμβαίνῃ τραχύτερον, μὴ ἀγανακτῇ μηδὲ δυσκολαίνῃ. τοῦτο δεῖ γιγνώσκουσαν τὴν γυναῖκα θεραπεύειν τὴν πρόφασιν· ἔστι δὲ ζηλοτυπία τῆς
B μητρὸς ὑπὲρ εὐνοίας πρὸς αὐτήν. θεραπεία δὲ μία τοῦ πάθους ἰδίᾳ μὲν εὔνοιαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ποιεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτήν, τὴν δὲ τῆς μητρὸς μὴ περισπᾶν μηδ' ἐλαττοῦν.

[1] οὐ συγκαθευδόντων Madvig.

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[a] The meaning of this passage is made quite clear by No. 4 of the *fragmenta incerta* of the *Moralia*, in vol. vii. of Bernardakis's edition, p. 151, and Musonius, pp. 67-68 of O. Hense's edition = Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, lxix. 23.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 265 E.

[c] Hieronymus, *Adversus Iovinianum*, i. chap. xlviii. (vol. ii. p. 292 of Migne's edition), amplifies this by a reference

as is the case with every living creature. In about the same way, the marriage of a couple in love with each other is an intimate union; that of those who marry for dowry or children is of persons joined together; and that of those who merely sleep in the same bed is of separate persons who may be regarded as cohabiting, but not really living together.[a] As the mixing of liquids, according to what men of science say, extends throughout their entire content, so also in the case of married people there ought to be a mutual amalgamation of their bodies, property, friends, and relations. In fact, the purpose of the Roman law-giver[b] who prohibited the giving and receiving of presents between man and wife was, not to prevent their sharing in anything, but that they should feel that they shared all things in common.

35. In Leptis, a city of Africa, it is an inherited custom[c] for the bride, on the day after her marriage, to send to the mother of the bridegroom and ask for a pot. The latter does not give it, and also declares that she has none, her purpose being that the bride may from the outset realize the stepmother's attitude in her mother-in-law, and, in the event of some harsher incident later on, may not feel indignant or resentful. A wife ought to take cognizance of this hostility, and try to cure the cause of it, which is the mother's jealousy of the bride as the object of her son's affection. The one way to cure this trouble is to create an affection for herself personally on the part of her husband, and at the same time not to divert or lessen his affection for his mother.

to Terence, *Hecyra*, ii. 1. 4: "All mothers-in-law hate their daughters-in-law."

(143) 36. Τοὺς υἱοὺς δοκοῦσι μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾶν αἱ μητέρες ὡς δυναμένους αὐταῖς βοηθεῖν, οἱ δὲ πατέρες τὰς θυγατέρας ὡς δεομένας αὐτῶν βοηθούντων· ἴσως δὲ καὶ τιμῇ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁ ἕτερος τὸ μᾶλλον οἰκεῖον τῷ ἑτέρῳ βούλεται μᾶλλον ἀσπαζόμενος καὶ ἀγαπῶν φανερὸς εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως διάφορόν ἐστιν, ἐκεῖνο δ' ἀστεῖον, ἂν ἡ γυνὴ μᾶλλον ἀποκλίνασα τῇ τιμῇ πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἢ τοὺς ἑαυτῆς C βλέπηται, κἄν τι λυπῆται, πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀναφέρουσα, τοὺς δ' ἑαυτῆς[1] λανθάνουσα. ποιεῖ γὰρ τὸ πιστεύειν δοκεῖν πιστεύεσθαι, καὶ τὸ φιλεῖν φιλεῖσθαι.

37. Τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κῦρον Ἕλλησι παρήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἂν μὲν βοῶντες ἐπίωσι, δέχεσθαι μετὰ σιωπῆς, ἂν δ' ἐκεῖνοι σιωπῶσιν, αὐτοὺς μετὰ βοῆς ἀντεξελαύνειν.[2] αἱ δὲ νοῦν ἔχουσαι γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς ὀργαῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν κεκραγότων μὲν ἡσυχάζουσι, σιωπῶντας δὲ προσλαλοῦσαι καὶ παραμυθούμεναι καταπραΰνουσιν.

D 38. Ὀρθῶς ὁ Εὐριπίδης αἰτιᾶται τοὺς τῇ λύρᾳ χρωμένους παρ' οἶνον· ἔδει γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ τὰ πένθη μᾶλλον τὴν μουσικὴν παρακαλεῖν ἢ προσελκύειν[3] τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ὄντας. νομίζετε οὖν ὑμεῖς ἁμαρτάνειν τοὺς ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα

[1] δ' ἑαυτῆς Bernardakis: δὲ αὑτῆς.

[2] ἀντεξελαύνειν] μέγα βοήσαντας ἐξελαύνειν Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, lxxiv. 51.

[3] προσελκύειν F.C.B.: προσεκλύειν.

36. Mothers appear to have a greater love for their sons because of a feeling that their sons are able to help them, and fathers for their daughters because of a feeling that the daughters have need of their help. Perhaps, also, because of the honour accorded by man and wife to each other, the one wishes openly to show that he feels greater esteem and affection for the attributes which are more characteristic of the other. And herein there may perhaps be a divergence, but, on the other hand, it is a nice thing if the wife, in the deference she shows, is observed to incline rather toward her husband's parents than her own, and, if she is distressed over anything, to refer it to them without the knowledge of her own parents. For seeming confidence begets confidence, and love, love.

37. The generals issued orders to the Greeks in Cyrus's army,[a] that if the enemy advanced shouting they should receive them with silence, but, on the other hand, if the enemy kept silent, they should charge against them with a shout. Women who have sense keep quiet while their husbands in their fits of anger vociferate, but when their husbands are silent they talk to them and mollify them by words of comfort.

38. Euripides[b] is right in censuring those who employ the lyre as an accompaniment to wine. For music ought rather to be invoked on occasions of anger and grief rather than to be made an added attraction for those who are engaged in their pleasures. So you two must regard those persons

[a] Possibly a confused reminiscence of Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 7. 4, and i. 8. 11.

[b] *Medea*, 190. *Cf.* also Plutarch, *Moralia*, 710 E.

(143) συγκαθεύδοντας ἀλλήλοις, ὅταν δ' ἐν ὀργῇ τινι γένωνται καὶ διαφορᾷ, χωρὶς ἀναπαυομένους καὶ μὴ τότε μάλιστα τὴν Ἀφροδίτην παρακαλοῦντας, ἰατρὸν οὖσαν τῶν τοιούτων ἀρίστην. ὥς που καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς διδάσκει, τὴν Ἥραν ποιῶν λέγουσαν

καί σφ' ἄκριτα νείκεα λύσω
E εἰς εὐνὴν ἀνέσασα ὁμωθῆναι φιλότητι.[a]

39. Ἀεὶ μὲν δεῖ καὶ πανταχοῦ φεύγειν τὸ προσκρούειν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, μάλιστα δὲ φυλάττεσθαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ συναναπαύεσθαι καὶ συγκαθεύδειν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὠδίνουσα καὶ δυσφοροῦσα πρὸς τοὺς κατακλίνοντας αὐτὴν ἔλεγε, "πῶς δ' ἂν ἡ κλίνη ταῦτα θεραπεύσειεν οἷς ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης περιέπεσον;" ἃς δ' ἡ κλίνη γεννᾷ διαφορὰς καὶ λοιδορίας καὶ ὀργάς, οὐ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστιν ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ διαλυθῆναι.

40. Ἡ Ἑρμιόνη δοκεῖ τι λέγειν ἀληθὲς[1] λέγουσα

F κακῶν γυναικῶν εἴσοδοί μ' ἀπώλεσαν.[b]

τοῦτο δ' οὐχ ἁπλῶς γιγνόμενόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὅταν αἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας διαφοραὶ καὶ ζηλοτυπίαι ταῖς τοιαύταις γυναιξὶ μὴ τὰς θύρας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀνοίγωσι. τότ' οὖν δεῖ μάλιστα τὴν νοῦν ἔχουσαν ἀποκλείειν τὰ ὦτα καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν ψιθυρισμόν, ἵνα μὴ πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ

[1] ἀληθὲς] Wyttenbach, followed by Hartman, thinks the adjective unnecessary.

[a] Adapted from Homer, *Il.* xiv. 205, 209.

[b] Euripides, *Andromache*, 930; *cf.* also Hieronymus, *Adversus Iovinianum*, i. chap. xlviii. (vol. ii. p. 292 of Migne's edition).

in error who for the sake of pleasure occupy the same bed, but when they get into some angry disagreement repose apart; they ought, instead, at that time especially to invoke Aphrodite, who is the best physician for such disorders. Such no doubt is the teaching of the poet [a] when he represents Hera as saying,

> I will settle their uncomposed quarrels,
> Sending them back to their bed to a union of loving enjoyment.

39. At all times and in all places a wife ought to try to avoid any clash with her husband, and a husband with his wife, but they ought to be especially on their guard against doing this in the privacy of their bedchamber. The woman in travail and pain kept saying to those who were trying to make her go to bed, "How can the bed cure this ailment which I contracted in bed?" But the disagreements, recriminations, and angry passions which the bed generates are not easily settled in another place and at another time.

40. Hermione seems to speak the truth when she says,[b]

> Bad women's visits brought about my fall.

This, however, does not come about so simply, but only when marital disagreements and jealousies open not only a wife's doors but also her hearing to such women. So, at such a time especially, a woman who has sense ought to stop her ears, and be on her guard against whispered insinuations, so that fire may not be added to fire,[c] and she ought to have

[c] *Cf.* the note on 123 F *supra*.

γένηται, καὶ πρόχειρον ἔχειν τὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου. λέγεται γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων παροξυνόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς εὖ πάσχοντας καὶ κακῶς αὐτὸν λέγοντας εἰπεῖν "τί οὖν, ἂν καὶ κακῶς ποιῶμεν αὐτούς;" ὅταν οὖν αἱ[1] *διαβάλλουσαι λέγωσιν ὅτι "λυπεῖ σε φιλοῦσαν ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ*
144 *σωφρονοῦσαν," "τί οὖν, ἂν καὶ μισεῖν αὐτὸν ἄρξωμαι καὶ ἀδικεῖν;"*

41. *Ὁ τὸν δραπέτην ἰδὼν διὰ χρόνου καὶ διώκων, ὡς κατέφυγε φθάσας εἰς μυλῶνα, "ποῦ δ' ἄν," ἔφη, "σὲ μᾶλλον εὑρεῖν ἐβουλήθην ἢ ἐνταῦθα;" γυνὴ τοίνυν διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν ἀπόλειψιν γράφουσα καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχουσα λεγέτω πρὸς ἑαυτήν "ποῦ δ' ἂν ἡ ζηλοῦσά με μᾶλλον ἡσθείη θεασαμένη καὶ τί ποιοῦσαν ἢ λυπουμένην καὶ στασιάζουσαν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτὸν*[2] *καὶ τὸν θάλαμον προϊεμένην;"*

42. *Ἀθηναῖοι τρεῖς ἀρότους ἱεροὺς ἄγουσι,*
B *πρῶτον ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ, τοῦ παλαιοτάτου τῶν σπόρων ὑπόμνημα, δεύτερον ἐν τῇ Ῥαρίᾳ, τρίτον ὑπὸ πόλιν*[3] *τὸν καλούμενον Βουζύγιον. τούτων δὲ πάντων ἱερώτατός*[4] *ἐστιν ὁ γαμήλιος σπόρος καὶ ἄροτος ἐπὶ παίδων τεκνώσει. καλῶς τὴν Ἀφρο-*

[1] *αἱ* omitted by Stobaeus, lxxiv. 52.
[2] *αὐτὸν*] *αὐτὴν* Wilamowitz, perhaps rightly.
[3] *πόλιν* Basel edition, 1542: *πέλιν*.
[4] *ἱερώτατός*] *ἱερώτερός* Madvig.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 179 A and 457 F. A similar remark of Pausanias is quoted in *Moralia*, 230 D.

[b] A remark of the same tenor is attributed to Phocion by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 188 A, and *Life of Phocion*, chap. x. (p. 746 E).

ready in mind the saying of Philip.[a] For it is told that when he was being incited by his friends against the Greeks on the ground that they were being well treated, but were speaking ill of him, he said, "What would happen, then, if we were to treat them ill?" So when these back-biters say, "Your husband treats grievously his loving and virtuous wife." "Yes, what would happen, then, if I were to begin to hate him and wrong him?"

41. A man whose slave had run away, on catching sight of the fugitive some time later, ran after him; but when the slave got ahead of him by taking refuge in a treadmill, the master said, "Where else could I have wished to find you rather than here?"[b] So then let the woman who, on account of jealousy, is entering a writ of divorce, and is in a high dudgeon, say to herself, "Where else would my rival like better to see me, what would she rather have me do, than feel aggrieved with my husband and quarrel with him and abandon my very home and chamber?"

42. The Athenians observe three sacred ploughings: the first at Scirum[c] in commemoration of the most ancient of sowings; the second in Raria,[c] and the third near the base of the Acropolis, the so-called Buzygius[c] (the ox-yoking). But most sacred of all such sowings is the marital sowing and ploughing for the procreation of children. It is a beautiful epithet

[c] Scirum was near Athens on the road to Eleusis; the Rarian plain was near Eleusis; the most convenient references regarding these sacred ploughings are Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und rom. Mythologie*, *s.v.* Buzyges, and Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 166-8.

(144) δίτην ὁ Σοφοκλῆς "εὔκαρπον Κυθέρειαν" προσηγόρευσε. διὸ δεῖ μάλιστα τούτῳ χρῆσθαι μετ' εὐλαβείας τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, τῶν ἀνιέρων καὶ παρανόμων πρὸς ἑτέρους ἁγνεύοντας ὁμιλιῶν, καὶ μὴ σπείροντας ἐξ ὧν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς φύεσθαι θέλουσιν ἀλλὰ κἂν γένηται καρπὸς αἰσχύνονται καὶ ἀποκρύπτουσι.

43. Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀναγνόντος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ λόγον περὶ ὁμονοίας τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὁ Μελάνθιος,[1]
C "οὗτος ἡμῖν," ἔφη, "συμβουλεύει περὶ ὁμονοίας, ὃς αὑτὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν θεράπαιναν ἰδίᾳ τρεῖς ὄντας ὁμονοεῖν οὐ πέπεικεν." ἦν γὰρ ὡς ἔοικέ τις ἔρως τοῦ Γοργίου καὶ ζηλοτυπία τῆς γυναικὸς πρὸς τὸ θεραπαινίδιον. εὖ τοίνυν ἡρμοσμένον τὸν οἶκον εἶναι δεῖ τῷ μέλλοντι ἁρμόζεσθαι πόλιν καὶ ἀγορὰν καὶ φίλους· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἔοικε τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἢ τὰ πρὸς γυναῖκας ἁμαρτήματα λανθάνειν τοὺς πολλούς.

44. Εἰ καθάπερ τὸν αἴλουρον ὀσμῇ μύρων ἐκταράττεσθαι καὶ μαίνεσθαι λέγουσιν, οὕτω τὰς
D γυναῖκας ἀγριαίνειν καὶ παραφρονεῖν ὑπὸ μύρων συνέβαινε, δεινὸν ἦν μὴ ἀπέχεσθαι μύρου τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἡδονὴν αὑτῶν βραχεῖαν οὕτω κακουμένας περιορᾶν. [ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ταῦτα πάσχουσιν οὐ μυριζομένων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀλλὰ συγγιγνομένων ἑτέραις, ἄδικόν ἐστιν ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα μικρᾶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο[2] λυπεῖν καὶ συνταράττειν τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ μή, καθάπερ ταῖς μελίτταις (ὅτι[3] δοκοῦσι

[1] Μελάνθιος Hieronymus, Amyot, and Xylander: μέλανθος.
[2] τοσοῦτο Reiske: τοσούτῳ. [3] ὅτι] αἳ Hercher.

[a] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 310, *Sophocles*, No. 763.
[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Laws*, p. 839 A.

which Sophocles applied to Aphrodite when he called her "bountiful-bearing Cytherea."[a] Therefore man and wife ought especially to indulge in this with circumspection, keeping themselves pure from all unholy and unlawful intercourse with others, and not sowing seed from which they are unwilling to have any offspring,[b] and from which if any issue does result, they are ashamed of it, and try to conceal it.

43. When the orator Gorgias read to the Greeks at Olympia a speech about concord,[c] Melanthius said, "This fellow is giving us advice about concord, and yet in his own household he has not prevailed upon himself, his wife, and maidservant, three persons only, to live in concord." For there was, apparently, some love on Gorgias's part and jealousy on the wife's part towards the girl. A man therefore ought to have his household well harmonized who is going to harmonize State, Forum, and friends. For it is much more likely that the sins of women rather than sins against women will go unnoticed by most people.

44. They say that the cat is excited to frenzy by the odour of perfumes. Now if it happened that women were similarly made furious and frantic by perfumes, it would be a dreadful thing for their husbands not to abstain from perfume, but for the sake of their own brief pleasure to permit their wives to suffer in this way. Now inasmuch as women are affected in this way, not by their husbands' using perfume, but by their having connexion with other women, it is unfair to pain and disturb them so much for the sake of a trivial pleasure, and not to follow with wives the practice observed in approaching bees

[c] *Cf.* Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, ii.[1] pp. 248-9 (*Gorgias*, B 7-8[a]).

(144) δυσχεραίνειν καὶ μάχεσθαι τοῖς μετὰ γυναικῶν γενομένοις), ἁγνοὺς καὶ καθαρεύοντας ἑτέρων συνουσίας προσιέναι ταῖς γυναιξίν.

45. Οἱ προσιόντες ἐλέφασιν ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν
E οὐ λαμβάνουσιν, οὐδὲ φοινικίδας οἱ ταύροις· διαγριαίνεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν χρωμάτων τούτων μάλιστα τὰ ζῷα· τὰς δὲ τίγρεις φασὶ περιτυμπανιζομένας ἐκμαίνεσθαι παντάπασι καὶ διασπᾶν ἑαυτάς. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ἐσθῆτας κοκκίνας καὶ πορφυρᾶς ὁρῶντες δυσανασχετοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ κυμβάλοις καὶ τυμπάνοις ἄχθονται, τί δεινὸν ἀπέχεσθαι τούτων τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ μὴ ταράττειν μηδὲ παροξύνειν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ συνεῖναι μετ' εὐσταθείας καὶ πραότητος;

46. Γυνή τις πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον ἄκουσαν ἐφελκόμενον αὐτήν, "ἄφες μ'," εἶπε· "πᾶσα γυνὴ τοῦ
F λύχνου ἀρθέντος ἡ αὐτή ἐστι." τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς μοιχικοὺς καὶ ἀκολάστους εἴρηται καλῶς, τὴν δὲ γαμετὴν δεῖ μάλιστα τοῦ φωτὸς ἀρθέντος εἶναι μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ταῖς τυχούσαις γυναιξίν, ἀλλὰ φαίνεσθαι τοῦ σώματος μὴ βλεπομένου τὸ σῶφρον αὐτῆς καὶ ἴδιον τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τεταγμένον καὶ φιλόστοργον.

47. Ὁ Πλάτων τοῖς πρεσβύταις μᾶλλον παρῄνει "αἰσχύνεσθαι τοὺς νέους," ἵνα κἀκεῖνοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἰδημόνως ἔχωσιν· "ὅπου" γὰρ "ἀναισχυντοῦσι γέροντες," οὐδεμίαν αἰδῶ τοῖς νέοις

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[a] A wide-spread ancient superstition; the classical references may be found in Magerstedt, *Die Bienenzucht des Altertums*, Sondershausen, 1851.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 330 B.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 167 C.

(because these insects are thought to be irritable and bellicose towards men who have been with women)[a] —to be pure and clean from all connexion with others when they approach their wives.

45. Those who have to go near elephants do not put on bright clothes, nor do those who go near bulls put on red[b]; for the animals are made especially furious by these colours; and tigers, they say, when surrounded by the noise of beaten drums go completely mad and tear themselves to pieces.[c] Since, then, this is also the case with men, that some cannot well endure the sight of scarlet and purple clothes, while others are annoyed by cymbals and drums,[d] what terrible hardship is it for women to refrain from such things, and not disquiet or irritate their husbands, but live with them in constant gentleness?

46. A woman once said to Philip, who was trying to force her to come to him against her will, "Let me go. All women are the same when the lights are out." This is well said as an answer to adulterous and licentious men, but the wedded wife ought especially when the light is out not to be the same as ordinary women, but, when her body is invisible, her virtue, her exclusive devotion to her husband, her constancy, and her affection, ought to be most in evidence.

47. Plato[e] used to advise the elderly men more especially to have the sense of shame before the young, so that the young may be respectful toward them; for where the old men are without sense of shame, he felt, no respect or deference is engendered

[d] An indication that the wife was interested in some foreign religion like the worship of Cybele.

[e] *Laws*, p. 729 c. Also cited or referred to by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 14 B, 71 B, and 272 C.

οὐδ' εὐλάβειαν ἐγγίγνεσθαι. τούτου δεῖ μεμνημένον τὸν ἄνδρα μηδένα μᾶλλον αἰδεῖσθαι τῆς
145 γυναικός, ὡς τὸν θάλαμον αὐτῇ διδασκαλεῖον εὐταξίας ἢ ἀκολασίας γενησόμενον. ὁ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡδονῶν αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπολαύων ἐκείνην δ' ἀποτρέπων οὐδὲν διαφέρει τοῦ κελεύοντος διαμάχεσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, οἷς αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκε.

48. Περὶ δὲ φιλοκοσμίας σὺ μέν, ὦ Εὐρυδίκη, τὰ πρὸς Ἀρίστυλλαν ὑπὸ Τιμοξένας γεγραμμένα ἀναγνοῦσα πειρῶ διαμνημονεύειν· σὺ δέ, ὦ Πολλιανέ, μὴ νόμιζε περιεργίας ἀφέξεσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ πολυτελείας, ἂν ὁρᾷ σε μὴ καταφρονοῦντα
B τούτων ἐν ἑτέροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίροντα χρυσώσεσιν ἐκπωμάτων καὶ γραφαῖς οἰκηματίων καὶ χλίδωσιν[1] ἡμιόνων καὶ ἵππων περιδεραίοις. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξελάσαι τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀνδρωνίτιδι τὴν πολυτέλειαν ἀναστρεφομένην.

Καὶ σὺ μὲν ὥραν ἔχων ἤδη φιλοσοφεῖν τοῖς μετ' ἀποδείξεως καὶ κατασκευῆς λεγομένοις ἐπικόσμει τὸ ἦθος, ἐντυγχάνων καὶ πλησιάζων τοῖς ὠφελοῦσι· τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ πανταχόθεν τὸ χρήσιμον συνάγων ὥσπερ αἱ μέλιτται καὶ φέρων αὐτὸς ἐν σεαυτῷ [μεταδίδου καὶ προσδιαλέγου,] φίλους αὐτῇ ποιῶν καὶ συνήθεις τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀρίστους.

C "πατὴρ" μὲν γάρ "ἐσσι" αὐτῇ "καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
ἠδὲ κασίγνητος".

[1] χλίδωσιν Stephanus: χλιδώσεσιν.

[a] Plutarch's wife presumably; who Aristylla was we do not know.

[b] Adapted from Homer, *Il.* vi. 429.

in the young. The husband ought to bear this in mind, and show no greater respect for anybody than for his wife, seeing that their chamber is bound to be for her a school of orderly behaviour or of wantonness. The man who enjoys the very pleasures from which he tries to dissuade his wife is in no wise different from him who bids her fight to the death against the enemies to whom he has himself surrendered.

48. In regard to love of finery, I beg, Eurydice, that you will read and try to remember what was written to Aristylla by Timoxena [a]; and as for you, Pollianus, you must not think that your wife will refrain from immoderate display and extravagance if she sees that you do not despise these things in others, but, on the contrary, find delight in gilded drinking-cups, pictured walls, trappings for mules, and showy neckbands for horses. For it is impossible to expel extravagance from the wife's part of the house when it has free range amid the men's rooms.

Besides, Pollianus, you already possess sufficient maturity to study philosophy, and I beg that you will beautify your character with the aid of discourses which are attended by logical demonstration and mature deliberation, seeking the company and instruction of teachers who will help you. And for your wife you must collect from every source what is useful, as do the bees, and carrying it within your own self impart it to her, and then discuss it with her, and make the best of these doctrines her favourite and familiar themes. For to her

> Thou art a father and precious-loved mother,
> Yea, and a brother as well.[b]

(145) οὐχ ἧττον δὲ σεμνὸν ἀκοῦσαι γαμετῆς λεγούσης "ἄνερ,

ἀτὰρ σύ μοί ἐσσι

καθηγητὴς καὶ φιλόσοφος καὶ διδάσκαλος τῶν καλλίστων καὶ θειοτάτων." τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα μαθήματα πρῶτον ἀφίστησι τῶν ἀτόπων τὰς γυναῖκας· αἰσχυνθήσεται γὰρ ὀρχεῖσθαι γυνὴ γεωμετρεῖν μανθάνουσα, καὶ φαρμάκων ἐπῳδὰς οὐ προσδέξεται τοῖς Πλάτωνος ἐπᾳδομένη λόγοις καὶ τοῖς Ξενοφῶντος. ἂν δέ τις ἐπαγγέλληται καθαιρεῖν τὴν σελήνην, γελάσεται τὴν ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὴν ἀβελτερίαν τῶν ταῦτα πειθομένων γυναικῶν, ἀστρολογίας μὴ ἀνηκόως ἔχουσα καὶ περὶ Ἀγλαονίκης[1] ἀκηκουῖα τῆς Ἡγήτορος τοῦ Θετταλοῦ θυγατρὸς
D ὅτι τῶν ἐκλειπτικῶν ἔμπειρος οὖσα πανσελήνων καὶ προειδυῖα τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ συμβαίνει τὴν σελήνην ὑπὸ γῆς[2] σκιᾶς ἁλίσκεσθαι, παρεκρούετο καὶ συνέπειθε τὰς γυναῖκας ὡς αὐτὴ καθαιροῦσα τὴν σελήνην.

Παιδίον μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμία ποτὲ γυνὴ λέγεται ποιῆσαι[3] δίχα κοινωνίας ἀνδρός, τὰ δ' ἄμορφα κυήματα καὶ σαρκοειδῆ καὶ σύστασιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐκ διαφθορᾶς λαμβάνοντα μύλας καλοῦσι. τοῦτο δὴ φυλακτέον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς γίγνεσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν. ἂν γὰρ λόγων χρηστῶν σπέρματα μὴ δέχωνται
E μηδὲ κοινωνῶσι παιδείας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, αὐταὶ

[1] Ἀγλαονίκης Reiske: ἀγανίκης.
[2] γῆς Kronenberg: τῆς.
[3] ποιῆσαι] κυῆσαι Wyttenbach.

[a] Adapted from Homer, *Il.* vi. 429.
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 416 F. The belief that Thessalian women had the power to draw down the moon was wide-spread

No less ennobling is it for a man to hear his wife say, "My dear husband,

> Nay, but thou art to me [a]

guide, philosopher, and teacher in all that is most lovely and divine." Studies of this sort, in the first place, divert women from all untoward conduct; for a woman studying geometry will be ashamed to be a dancer, and she will not swallow any beliefs in magic charms while she is under the charm of Plato's or Xenophon's words. And if anybody professes power to pull down the moon from the sky, she will laugh at the ignorance and stupidity of women who believe these things, inasmuch as she herself is not unschooled in astronomy, and has read in the books about Aglaonice,[b] the daughter of Hegetor of Thessaly, and how she, through being thoroughly acquainted with the periods of the full moon when it is subject to eclipse, and, knowing beforehand the time when the moon was due to be overtaken by the earth's shadow, imposed upon the women, and made them all believe that she was drawing down the moon.

It is said that no woman ever produced a child without the co-operation of a man, yet there are misshapen, fleshlike, uterine growths originating in some infection, which develop of themselves and acquire firmness and solidity, and are commonly called "moles."[c] Great care must be taken that this sort of thing does not take place in women's minds. For if they do not receive the seed of good doctrines and share with their husbands in intellectual advance-

in antiquity. It may suffice here to refer to Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 749, and for Aglaonice to Plutarch, *Moralia* 417 A.

[c] *Cf.* Aristotle, *De generatione animalium*, iv. 7.

καθ' αὑτὰς ἄτοπα πολλὰ καὶ φαῦλα βουλεύματα καὶ πάθη κυοῦσι.

Σὺ δ' ὦ Εὐρυδίκη μάλιστα πειρῶ τοῖς τῶν σοφῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀποφθέγμασιν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ διὰ στόματος ἀεὶ τὰς φωνὰς ἔχειν ἐκείνας [ὧν καὶ παρθένος οὖσα παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνελάμβανες], ὅπως εὐφραίνῃς μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα, θαυμάζῃ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν, οὕτω κοσμουμένη περιττῶς καὶ σεμνῶς ἀπὸ μηδενός. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τῆσδε τῆς πλουσίας μαργαρίτας καὶ τὰ τῆσδε τῆς ξένης σηρικὰ λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ περιθέσθαι μὴ πολλοῦ πριαμένην, τὰ δὲ Θεανοῦς κόσμια καὶ Κλεοβουλίνης καὶ Γορ-
F *γοῦς τῆς Λεωνίδου γυναικὸς καὶ Τιμοκλείας τῆς Θεαγένους ἀδελφῆς καὶ Κλαυδίας τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ Κορνηλίας τῆς Σκιπίωνος καὶ ὅσαι ἐγένοντο θαυμασταὶ καὶ περιβόητοι, ταῦτα δ' ἔξεστι περικειμένην προῖκα καὶ κοσμουμένην αὐτοῖς ἐνδόξως ἅμα βιοῦν καὶ μακαρίως.*

Εἰ γὰρ ἡ Σαπφὼ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι καλλι-
146 *γραφίαν ἐφρόνει τηλικοῦτον ὥστε γράψαι πρός τινα πλουσίαν,*

> *κατθάνοισα[1] δὲ κείσεαι, οὐδέ τις μναμοσύνα σέθεν*
> *ἔσεται· οὐ γὰρ πεδέχεις[2] ῥόδων*
> *τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας,*

[1] *κατθάνοισα Moralia*, 646 F: *κατθανοῦσα.*
[2] *πεδέχεις ibid.*: *παῖδ' ἔχεις.*

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[a] Wife of Pythagoras; *cf.* 142 C, *supra.*
[b] Also called Eumetis, daughter of Cleobulus; *cf.* 148 C–E, 150 E, and 154 A–C, *infra.*

ment, they, left to themselves, conceive many untoward ideas and low designs and emotions.

And as for you, Eurydice, I beg that you will try to be conversant with the sayings of the wise and good, and always have at your tongue's end those sentiments which you used to cull in your girlhood's days when you were with us, so that you may give joy to your husband, and may be admired by other women, adorned, as you will be, without price, with rare and precious jewels. For you cannot acquire and put upon you this rich woman's pearls or that foreign woman's silks without buying them at a high price, but the ornaments of Theano,[a] Cleobulina,[b] Gorgo,[c] the wife of Leonidas, Timocleia,[d] the sister of Theagenes, Claudia[e] of old, Cornelia,[f] daughter of Scipio, and of all other women who have been admired and renowned, you may wear about you without price, and, adorning yourself with these, you may live a life of distinction and happiness.

If Sappho thought that her beautiful compositions in verse justified her in writing[g] to a certain rich woman,

> Dead in the tomb shalt thou lie,
> Nor shall there be thought of thee there,
> For in the roses of Pierian fields
> Thou hast no share,

[c] Daughter of Cleomenes, king of Sparta ; *cf.* Herodotus, vii. 239.

[d] Plutarch tells of Timocleia's intrepid behaviour after the battle of Chaeroneia in *Moralia*, 259 c, and *Life of Alexander*, chap. xii. (p. 671 A).

[e] Claudia vindicated her virtue when the goddess Cybele was brought to Rome ; Livy, xxix. 14.

[f] Better known as the mother of the Gracchi, who said of her sons, "These are my jewels."

[g] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* iii. p. 111, Sappho. No. 68; J. M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, in the L.C.L. i. p. 69.

(146) πῶς οὐχί σοι μᾶλλον ἐξέσται μέγα φρονεῖν ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ καὶ λαμπρόν, ἂν μὴ τῶν ῥόδων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καρπῶν μετέχῃς, ὧν αἱ Μοῦσαι φέρουσι καὶ χαρίζονται τοῖς παιδείαν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν θαυμάζουσιν;

why shall it not be even more allowable for you to entertain high and splendid thoughts of yourself, if you have a share not only in the roses but also in the fruits which the Muses bring and graciously bestow upon those who admire education and philosophy?

THE DINNER OF THE SEVEN WISE MEN
(SEPTEM SAPIENTIUM CONVIVIUM)

INTRODUCTION

Plutarch's account of the dinner of the seven wise men is a literary *tour de force*. Both Plato and Xenophon had composed similar accounts of such gatherings in their own time, and Plutarch himself has recorded in detail in his *Symposiacs* (or Table-Talks) much of the conversation which was heard at such gatherings in his day. This is comparatively an easy task, but in the account of the dinner of the seven wise men Plutarch, who lived several centuries after Plato and Xenophon, deliberately set himself to compose an account of a meeting of people who lived a couple of centuries before Plato and Xenophon—at the dawn, almost, of authentic Greek history. There was a tradition, recorded by Plato in the *Protagoras* (p. 343 A) and by other writers, that the seven wise men had met at Delphi in connexion with the dedication of the two famous inscriptions on the temple of Apollo there, and there was an added tradition that they had later been entertained by Periander at Corinth. Besides this, many sayings of the wise men were traditionally current. With this material at hand, Plutarch composed his imaginative account of the dinner, adding other characters such as Neiloxenus and Aesop, and giving it a more intimate touch by introducing the feminine element in the persons of Melissa and

Eumetis; and at the end, for good measure, he added an elaboration of the familiar story of Arion's rescue by dolphins, already well known from the account of Herodotus (i. 24) and of other writers; and this is capped by a few more dolphins.

The title (Συμπόσιον τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν) stands as No. 110 in the catalogue of Lamprias, and the essay is occasionally quoted or referred to by later Greek writers.

Plutarch names, as the seven wise men, Thales, Bias, Pittacus, Solon, Chilon, Cleobulus, and Anacharsis. Plato (*Protagoras*, 343 A) puts Myson in place of Anacharsis, and in other lists Periander is found in his stead. Pherecydes, Epimenides, and Peisistratus are the other candidates for a place in the list.

1. Ἦ που προϊὼν ὁ χρόνος, ὦ Νίκαρχε, πολὺ σκότος ἐπάξει τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ πᾶσαν ἀσάφειαν, εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ προσφάτοις οὕτω καὶ νεαροῖς λόγοι ψευδεῖς συντεθέντες ἔχουσι πίστιν. οὔτε γὰρ μόνων,
C ὡς ὑμεῖς ἀκηκόατε, τῶν ἑπτὰ γέγονε τὸ συμπόσιον, ἀλλὰ πλειόνων ἢ δὶς τοσούτων (ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτὸς ἤμην, συνήθης μὲν ὢν Περιάνδρῳ διὰ τὴν τέχνην, ξένος δὲ Θάλεω· παρ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ κατέλυσεν ὁ ἀνὴρ Περιάνδρου κελεύσαντος), οὔτε τοὺς λόγους ὀρθῶς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν ὅστις ἦν ὑμῖν ὁ διηγούμενος· ἦν δ' ὡς ἔοικεν οὐδεὶς τῶν παραγεγονότων. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ σχολή τε πάρεστι πολλὴ καὶ τὸ γῆρας οὐκ ἀξιόπιστον ἐγγυήσασθαι τὴν ἀναβολὴν τοῦ λόγου, προθυμουμένοις ὑμῖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἅπαντα διηγήσομαι.

D 2. Παρεσκευάκει μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ὁ Περίανδρος, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ περὶ τὸ Λέχαιον ἑστιατορίῳ παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν, ἧς ἦν καὶ ἡ θυσία. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς μητρὸς

[a] He was apparently a seer versed in ritual purification; see *infra*, 149 D.

THE DINNER OF THE SEVEN WISE MEN

1. It seems fairly certain, Nicarchus, that the lapse of time will bring about much obscurity and complete uncertainty regarding actual events, if at the present time, in the case of events so fresh and recent, false accounts that have been concocted obtain credence. For, in the first place, the dinner was not a dinner of the Seven alone, as you and your friends have been told, but of more than twice that number, including myself; for I was on intimate terms with Periander by virtue of my profession,[a] and I was also the host of Thales, for he stayed at my house by command of Periander. In the second place, your informant, whoever he was, did not report the conversation correctly; apparently he was not one of those at the dinner. However, since there is nothing that demands my attention just now, and old age is too untrustworthy to warrant postponing the narration, I will begin at the beginning, and tell you, without any omissions, the story which you all seem eager to hear.

2. Periander had arranged for the entertainment, not in the city but in the dining-hall in the vicinity of Lechaeum, close by the shrine of Aphrodite, in whose honour the sacrifice was offered that day. For Periander, ever since his mother's love-affair which

(146) αὐτοῦ προεμένης τὸν βίον ἑκουσίως οὐ τεθυκὼς τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, τότε πρῶτον ἔκ τινων ἐνυπνίων τῆς Μελίσσης ὥρμησε τιμᾶν καὶ θεραπεύειν τὴν θεόν.

Τῶν δὲ κεκλημένων ἑκάστῳ συνωρὶς ἱκανῶς κεκοσμημένη προσήχθη· καὶ γὰρ ὥρα θέρους ἦν, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἅπασαν ὑπὸ πλήθους ἁμαξῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἄχρι θαλάττης κονιορτὸς καὶ θόρυβος κατεῖχεν. ὁ μέντοι Θαλῆς τὸ ζεῦγος ἐπὶ ταῖς
E θύραις ἰδὼν καὶ μειδιάσας ἀφῆκεν. ἐβαδίζομεν οὖν ἐκτραπόμενοι διὰ τῶν χωρίων, καθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν τρίτος ὁ Ναυκρατίτης Νειλόξενος, ἀνὴρ ἐπιεικὴς καὶ τοῖς περὶ Σόλωνα καὶ Θαλῆν[1] γεγονὼς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συνήθης. ἐτύγχανε δὲ πρὸς Βίαντα πάλιν ἀπεσταλμένος· ὧν δὲ χάριν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ᾔδει, πλὴν ὑπενόει πρόβλημα δεύτερον αὐτῷ κομίζειν ἐν βιβλίῳ κατασεσημασμένον· εἴρητο γάρ, εἰ Βίας ἀπαγορεύσειεν, ἐπιδεῖξαι τοῖς σοφωτάτοις Ἑλλήνων τὸ βιβλίον.

"Ἕρμαιον" ὁ Νειλόξενος ἔφη "μοι γέγονεν
F ἐνταῦθα λαβεῖν ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ κομίζω τὸ βιβλίον ὡς ὁρᾷς ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον." ἅμα δ' ἡμῖν ἐπεδείκνυε.

Καὶ ὁ Θαλῆς γελάσας "εἴ τι κακόν," εἶπεν, "αὖθις εἰς Πριήνην· διαλύσει γὰρ ὁ Βίας, ὡς διέλυσεν αὐτὸς τὸ πρῶτον."

"Τί δ' ἦν," ἔφην ἐγώ, "τὸ πρῶτον;"

"Ἱερεῖον," εἶπεν, "ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ, κελεύσας τὸ

[1] Θαλῆν Hercher: θάλητα.

[a] *Cf.* Parthenius, *Love-affairs*, § 17.
[b] The home of Bias.

had led to her self-destruction,[a] had offered no sacrifice to Aphrodite, but now, for the first time, owing to certain dreams of Melissa's, he had set about honouring and conciliating the goddess.

For each of the invited guests a carriage and pair, fashionably caparisoned, was brought to the door; for it was summer-time, and the whole length of the street even to the water's edge was one mass of dust and confusion by reason of the great crowd of vehicles and people. Thales, however, when he saw the equipage at the door, smiled and dismissed it. And so we set out on foot, leaving the road and going through the fields in a leisurely fashion, and with us two was Neiloxenus of Naucratis, an able man, who had been on terms of intimacy with Solon and Thales and their group in Egypt. He, as it happened, had been sent a second time on a mission to Bias, the reason for which he did not know, save only that he suspected that he was bringing for Bias a second problem sealed up in a packet. His instructions were, that if Bias should give up trying to solve it, he should show the packet to the wisest among the Greeks.

"It is a piece of good fortune for me," said Neiloxenus, "to have found you all together here, and, as you see, I am bringing the packet with me to the dinner"; and at the same time he showed it to us.

Thales began to laugh, and said, "If it is anything bad, go to Priene[b] again! For Bias will have a solution for this, just as he had his own solution of the first problem."

"What," said I, "was the first problem?"

"The king," said he, "sent to Bias an animal for

πονηρότατον ἐξελόντα καὶ χρηστότατον ἀποπέμψαι κρέας. ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος εὖ καὶ καλῶς τὴν γλῶτταν ἐξελὼν ἔπεμψεν· ὅθεν εὐδοκιμῶν δῆλός ἐστι καὶ θαυμαζόμενος."

147 "Οὐ διὰ ταῦτ'" ἔφη "μόνον" ὁ Νειλόξενος, "ἀλλ' οὐ φεύγει τὸ φίλος εἶναι καὶ λέγεσθαι βασιλέων καθάπερ ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ σοῦ γε καὶ τἆλλα θαυμάζει, καὶ τῆς πυραμίδος τὴν μέτρησιν ὑπερφυῶς ἠγάπησεν, ὅτι πάσης ἄνευ πραγματείας καὶ μηδενὸς ὀργάνου δεηθεὶς ἀλλὰ τὴν βακτηρίαν στήσας ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τῆς σκιᾶς ἣν ἡ πυραμὶς ἐποίει, γενομένων τῇ ἐπαφῇ τῆς ἀκτῖνος δυεῖν τριγώνων, ἔδειξας ὃν ἡ σκιὰ πρὸς τὴν σκιὰν λόγον εἶχε τὴν πυραμίδα πρὸς τὴν βακτηρίαν ἔχουσαν. ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην, διεβλήθης μισοβασιλεὺς εἶναι,
B καί τινες ὑβριστικαί σου περὶ τυράννων ἀποφάσεις ἀνεφέροντο πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ Μολπαγόρου τοῦ Ἴωνος τί παραδοξότατον εἴης ἑωρακώς, ἀποκρίναιο 'τύραννον γέροντα,' καὶ πάλιν ἔν τινι πότῳ, περὶ τῶν θηρίων λόγου γενομένου, φαίης κάκιστον εἶναι τῶν μὲν ἀγρίων θηρίων τὸν τύραννον, τῶν δ' ἡμέρων τὸν κόλακα· ταῦτα γάρ, εἰ καὶ πάνυ προσποιοῦνται διαφέρειν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν τυράννων, οὐκ εὐμενῶς ἀκούουσιν."

"Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μέν," εἶπεν ὁ Θαλῆς, "Πιττακοῦ ἐστιν, εἰρημένον ἐν παιδιᾷ ποτε πρὸς Μυρσίλον·

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[a] The same story is told in *Moralia*, 38 B; in 506 C, and in Plutarch's *Comment. on Hesiod*, 71 (*Works and Days*, 719), the same story is told of Pittacus.

[b] *Cf.* Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxvi. 17 (82).

[c] Specifically ascribed to Thales by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 578 D; *cf.* also *infra*, 152 A.

[d] Ascribed to Bias by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 61 C.

sacrifice, with instructions to take out and send back to him the worst and best portion of the meat. And our friend's neat and clever solution was, to take out the tongue and send it to him,[a] with the result that he is now manifestly in high repute and esteem."

"Not for this alone," said Neiloxenus, "but he does not try to avoid, as the rest of you do, being a friend of kings and being called such. In your case, for instance, the king finds much to admire in you, and in particular he was immensely pleased with your method of measuring the pyramid, because, without making any ado or asking for any instrument, you simply set your walking-stick upright at the edge of the shadow which the pyramid cast, and, two triangles being formed by the intercepting of the sun's rays, you demonstrated that the height of the pyramid bore the same relation to the length of the stick as the one shadow to the other.[b] But, as I said, you have been unjustly accused of having an animosity against kings, and certain offensive pronouncements of yours regarding despots have been reported to him. For example, he was told that, when you were asked by Molpagoras the Ionian what was the most paradoxical thing you had ever seen, you replied, 'A despot that lived to be old.'[c] And again he was told that on a certain convivial occasion there was a discussion about animals, and you maintained that of the wild animals the worst was the despot, and of the tame the flatterer.[d] Now kings, although they would make out that they are altogether different from despots, do not take kindly to such remarks."

"But the fact is," said Thales, "that Pittacus is responsible for that statement, which was once made in jest with reference to Myrsilus. But, as for myself,

C ἐγὼ δὲ θαυμάσαιμ' ἄν," ἔφη, "οὐ τύραννον ἀλλὰ
(147) κυβερνήτην γέροντα θεασάμενος. πρὸς δὲ τὴν μετάθεσιν τὸ τοῦ νεανίσκου πέπονθα τοῦ βαλόντος μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν κύνα πατάξαντος δὲ τὴν μητρυιὰν καὶ εἰπόντος 'οὐδ' οὕτω κακῶς.' διὸ καὶ Σόλωνα σοφώτατον ἡγησάμην οὐ δεξάμενον τυραννεῖν. καὶ Πιττακὸς οὗτος εἰ μοναρχίᾳ μὴ προσῆλθεν, οὐκ ἂν εἶπεν ὡς 'χαλεπὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι.' Περίανδρος δ' ἔοικεν ὥσπερ ἐν νοσήματι πατρῴῳ τῇ τυραννίδι κατειλημμένος οὐ φαύλως ἐξαναφέρειν, χρώμενος ὁμιλίαις ὑγιειναῖς ἄχρι γε νῦν καὶ συνουσίας ἀνδρῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων ἐπαγόμενος,
D ἃς δὲ Θρασύβουλος αὐτῷ κολούσεις τῶν ἄκρων οὑμὸς πολίτης ὑφηγεῖται μὴ προσιέμενος. γεωργοῦ γὰρ αἴρας[1] καὶ ὀνώνιδας[2] ἀντὶ πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν συγκομίζειν ἐθέλοντος οὐδὲν διαφέρει τύραννος ἀνδραπόδων μᾶλλον ἄρχειν ἢ ἀνδρῶν βουλόμενος· ἓν γὰρ ἀντὶ πολλῶν κακῶν ἀγαθὸν αἱ δυναστεῖαι τὴν τιμὴν ἔχουσι καὶ τὴν δόξαν, ἄνπερ ἀγαθῶν ὡς κρείττονες ἄρχωσι καὶ μεγάλων μείζονες εἶναι δοκῶσι· τὴν δ' ἀσφάλειαν ἀγαπῶντας ἄνευ τοῦ καλοῦ προβάτων ἔδει πολλῶν καὶ ἵππων καὶ βοῶν ἄρχειν, μὴ ἀνθρώπων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς οὐδὲν προσ-
E ήκοντας ἐμβέβληκεν ἡμᾶς," ἔφη, "ὁ ξένος οὑτοσὶ

[1] αἴρας Wyttenbach: ἄγρας or ἀκρίδας.
[2] ὀνώνιδας Doehner: ὄρνιθας.

[a] The same story is found in *Moralia*, 467 c.
[b] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Life of Solon*, chaps. xiv. and xv. (pp. 85 d–86 b).
[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Protagoras*, 339 a; Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* iii. p. 384 Simonides, No. 5.
[d] The usual tradition (*e.g.* Herodotus, v. 92) is that Periander grew worse rather than better.
[e] The story is familiar in other connexions also; Roman

I should be amazed to see," he continued, "not a despot but a pilot that lived to be old. However, so far as concerns transferring this from the one to the other, my feeling is exactly that of the young man who threw a stone at his dog, but hit his stepmother, whereupon he exclaimed, 'Not so bad after all!'[a] This is the reason why I regarded Solon as very wise in refusing to accept the position of despot.[b] And as for your friend Pittacus, if he had never addressed himself to the task of ruling single-handed, he would not have said that 'it is hard to be good.'[c] But Periander, apparently, in spite of his being afflicted with despotism as with an inherited disease, is making fair progress towards recovery[d] by keeping wholesome company—at least up to the present time—and by bringing about conferences with men of sense, and by refusing to entertain the suggestions offered by my fellow-citizen Thrasybulus about lopping off the topmost.[e] Indeed, a despot who desires to rule slaves rather than men is not unlike a farmer who is willing to gather in a harvest of darnel and rest-harrow rather than of wheat and barley. For the exercise of dominion possesses one advantage to set against its many disadvantages, and this is the honour and glory of it, if rulers rule over good men by being better than they, and are thought to surpass their subjects in greatness. But rulers that are content with safety without honour ought to rule over a lot of sheep, horses, and cattle, and not over men. But enough of this," he continued, "for our visitor here has precipitated us into a conversation that is quite inappropriate, since

tradition, for example, makes Tarquinius Superbus give this advice to his son (Livy, i. 54).

λόγους, ἀμελήσας[1] λέγειν τε καὶ ζητεῖν ἃ ἁρμόττει ἐπὶ δεῖπνον βαδίζουσιν. ἦ γὰρ οὐκ οἴει, καθάπερ ἑστιάσοντος ἔστι τις παρασκευή, καὶ δειπνήσοντος εἶναι; Συβαρῖται μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔοικε πρὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὰς κλήσεις ποιοῦνται τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅπως ἐκγένοιτο κατὰ σχολὴν παρασκευασαμέναις ἐσθῆτι καὶ χρυσῷ φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἐγὼ δὲ πλείονος οἶμαι χρόνου δεῖσθαι τὴν ἀληθινὴν τοῦ δειπνήσοντος ὀρθῶς παρασκευήν, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερόν ἐστιν ἤθει τὸν πρέποντα κόσμον ἢ σώματι τὸν περιττὸν
F ἐξευρεῖν καὶ ἄχρηστον. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἀγγεῖον ἥκει κομίζων ἑαυτὸν ἐμπλῆσαι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον ὁ νοῦν ἔχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπουδάσαι τι καὶ παῖξαι καὶ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὡς[2] ὁ καιρὸς παρακαλεῖ τοὺς συνόντας, εἰ μέλλουσι μετ' ἀλλήλων ἡδέως ἔσεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὄψον πονηρὸν ἔστι παρώσασθαι, κἂν οἶνος ᾖ φαῦλος, ἐπὶ τὰς νύμφας καταφυγεῖν· σύνδειπνος δὲ κεφαλαλγὴς καὶ βαρὺς καὶ ἀνάγωγος παντὸς μὲν οἴνου καὶ ὄψου πάσης δὲ μουσουργοῦ χάριν ἀπόλλυσι καὶ λυμαίνεται, καὶ οὐδ' ἀπεμέσαι
148 τὴν τοιαύτην ἀηδίαν ἕτοιμόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἐνίοις εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ἐμμένει τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δυσάρεστον, ὥσπερ ἑωλοκρασία τις ὕβρεως ἢ ὀργῆς ἐν οἴνῳ γενομένης. ὅθεν ἄριστα Χίλων, καλούμενος ἐχθές, οὐ πρότερον ὡμολόγησεν ἢ

[1] ἀμελήσας] ἀμελήσαντας some MSS.
[2] ὡς Meziriacus: ὧν Wyttenbach: ὁ.

[a] *Cf.* Athenaeus, 521 c.
[b] A similar thought is found in *Moralia*, 660 B.

he has not been careful to bring up topics and questions suitable for persons on their way to dinner. Do you not honestly believe that, as some preparation is necessary on the part of the man who is to be host, there should also be some preparation on the part of him who is to be a guest at dinner? People in Sybaris, as it appears, have their invitations to women presented a year in advance so as to afford them plenty of time to provide themselves with clothes and jewellery to wear when they come to dinner[a]; but I am of the opinion that the genuine preparation on the part of the man who is to be the right kind of guest at dinner requires even a longer time, inasmuch as it is more difficult to discover the fitting adornment for character than the superfluous and useless adornment for the body. In fact, the man of sense who comes to dinner does not betake himself there just to fill himself up as though he were a sort of pot, but to take some part, be it serious or humorous, and to listen and to talk regarding this or that topic as the occasion suggests it to the company, if their association together is to be pleasant.[b] Now an unsavoury dish can be declined, and, if the wine be poor, one may find refuge with the water-sprites; but a guest at dinner who gives the others a headache, and is churlish and uncivil, ruins and spoils the enjoyment of any wines and viands or of any girl's music; nor is there any ready means by which one can spew out this sort of unsavouriness, but with some persons their mutual dislike lasts for their entire lifetime—stale dregs, as it were, of some insult or fit of temper which was called into being over wine. Wherefore Chilon showed most excellent judgement when he received his invitation yesterday,

(148) πυθέσθαι τῶν κεκλημένων ἕκαστον. ἔφη γὰρ ὅτι σύμπλουν ἀγνώμονα δεῖ φέρειν καὶ σύσκηνον οἷς πλεῖν ἀνάγκη καὶ στρατεύεσθαι· τὸ δὲ συμπόταις ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἔτυχε καταμιγνύειν οὐ νοῦν ἔχοντος ἀνδρός ἐστιν. ὁ δ' Αἰγύπτιος σκελετός, ὃν ἐπιεικῶς εἰσφέροντες εἰς τὰ συμπόσια προτίθενται καὶ παρα-
B καλοῦσι μεμνῆσθαι τάχα δὴ τοιούτους ἐσομένους, καίπερ ἄχαρις καὶ ἄωρος ἐπίκωμος ἥκων, ὅμως ἔχει τινὰ καιρόν, καὶ εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ πίνειν καὶ ἡδυπαθεῖν ἀλλὰ πρὸς φιλίαν καὶ ἀγάπησιν ἀλλήλων προτρέπεται, καὶ παρακαλεῖ τὸν βίον μὴ τῷ χρόνῳ βραχὺν ὄντα πράγμασι κακοῖς μακρὸν ποιεῖν."

3. Ἐν τοιούτοις λόγοις γενόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀφικόμεθα πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν, καὶ λούσασθαι μὲν ὁ Θαλῆς οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀληλιμμένοι γὰρ ἦμεν· ἐπιὼν δὲ τούς τε δρόμους ἐθεᾶτο καὶ τὰς παλαίστρας καὶ τὸ ἄλσος τὸ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν ἱκανῶς διακεκοσμημένον, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐκπληττόμενος τῶν τοιού-
C των, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ καταφρονεῖν δοκοίη μηδ' ὑπερορᾶν τοῦ Περιάνδρου τῆς φιλοτιμίας. τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὸν ἀλειψάμενον ἢ λουσάμενον οἱ θεράποντες εἰσῆγον εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα διὰ τῆς στοᾶς.

Ὁ δ' Ἀνάχαρσις ἐν τῇ στοᾷ καθῆστο, καὶ παιδίσκη προειστήκει τὴν κόμην ταῖς χερσὶ διακρίνουσα. ταύτην ὁ[1] Θαλῆς ἐλευθεριώτατά πως αὐτῷ προσδραμοῦσαν ἐφίλησε καὶ γελάσας "οὕτως,"

[1] ὁ added by Hercher.

[a] Plutarch expands this thought in *Moralia*, 708 D.

in not agreeing to come until he had learned the name of every person invited. For he said that men must put up with an inconsiderate companion on shipboard or under the same tent, if necessity compels them to travel or to serve in the army, but that to trust to luck regarding the people one is to be associated with at table is not the mark of a man of sense.[a] Now the skeleton which in Egypt they are wont, with fair reason, to bring in and expose at their parties, urging the guests to remember that what it is now, they soon shall be, although it is an ungracious and unseasonable companion to be introduced at a merry-making, yet has a certain timeliness, even if it does not incline the guests to drinking and enjoyment, but rather to a mutual friendliness and affection, and if it urges upon them that life, which is short in point of time, should not be made long by evil conduct."

3. Engaging in such discourse as this along the way, we arrived at the house. Thales did not care to bathe, for we had already had a rub-down. So he visited and inspected the race-tracks, the training-quarters of the athletes, and the beautifully kept park along the shore; not that he was ever greatly impressed by anything of the sort, but so that he should not seem to show disdain or contempt for Periander's ambitious designs. As for the other guests, each one, after enjoying a rub-down or a bath, was conducted by the servants to the dining-room through the open colonnade.

Anacharsis was seated in the colonnade, and in front of him stood a girl who was parting his hair with her hands. This girl ran to Thales in a most open-hearted way, whereupon he kissed her

(148) ἔφη, "ποίει καλὸν τὸν ξένον, ὅπως ἡμερώτατος ὢν μὴ φοβερὸς ᾖ τὴν ὄψιν ἡμῖν μηδ' ἄγριος."

'Εμοῦ δ' ἐρομένου περὶ τῆς παιδὸς ἥτις εἴη,
D "τὴν σοφήν," ἔφη, "καὶ περιβόητον ἀγνοεῖς Εὔμητιν; οὕτω γὰρ ταύτην ὁ πατὴρ αὐτός, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ πατρόθεν ὀνομάζουσι Κλεοβουλίνην."

Καὶ ὁ Νειλόξενος εἶπεν "ἦ που τὴν περὶ τὰ αἰνίγματα δεινότητα καὶ σοφίαν," ἔφη, "τῆς κόρης ἐπαινεῖς· καὶ γὰρ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔνια τῶν προβαλλομένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς διῖκται."

"Οὐκ ἔγωγ'," εἶπεν ὁ Θαλῆς· "τούτοις γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀστραγάλοις, ὅταν τύχῃ, παίζουσα χρῆται καὶ διαβάλλεται πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυχόντας. ἀλλὰ καὶ φρόνημα θαυμαστὸν καὶ νοῦς ἔνεστι πολιτικὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἦθος, καὶ τὸν πατέρα τοῖς πολίταις
E πραότερον ἄρχοντα παρέχει καὶ δημοτικώτερον."

"Εἶεν," ὁ Νειλόξενος ἔφη, "καὶ φαίνεται βλέποντι πρὸς τὴν λιτότητα καὶ ἀφέλειαν αὐτῆς· 'Ανάχαρσιν δὲ πόθεν οὕτω τημελεῖ φιλοστόργως;"

"Ὅτι," ἔφη, "σώφρων ἀνήρ ἐστι καὶ πολυμαθής, καὶ τὴν δίαιταν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν καθαρμόν, ᾧ χρῶνται Σκύθαι περὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας, ἀφθόνως καὶ προθύμως παραδέδωκε. καὶ νῦν οἶμαι περιέπειν αὐτὴν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι, μανθάνουσάν τι καὶ προσδιαλεγομένην."

Ἤδη δὲ πλησίον οὖσιν ἡμῖν τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος ἀπήν-

and said laughingly, "Go on and make our visitor beautiful, so that we may not find him terrifying and savage in his looks, when he is, in reality, most civilized."

When I inquired about the girl and asked who she was, he replied, "Have you not heard of the wise and far-famed Eumetis? Really, though, that is only her father's name for her, and most people call her Cleobulina after her father."

"I am sure," said Neiloxenus, "that when you speak so highly of the maiden you must have reference to the cleverness and skill that she shows in her riddles; for it is a fact that some of her conundrums have even found their way to Egypt."

"No indeed," said Thales, "for these she uses like dice as a means of occasional amusement, and risks an encounter with all comers. But she is also possessed of wonderful sense, a statesman's mind, and an amiable character, and she has influence with her father so that his government of the citizens has become milder and more popular."

"Yes," said Neiloxenus, "that must be apparent to anybody who observes her simplicity and lack of affectation. But what is the reason for her loving attentions to Anacharsis?"

"Because," replied Thales, "he is a man of sound sense and great learning, and he has generously and readily imparted to her the system of diet and purging which the Scythians employ in treating their sick. And I venture to think that at this very moment, while she is bestowing this affectionate attention on the man, she is gaining some knowledge through further conversation with him."

We were already near the dining-room when

τησεν Ἀλεξίδημος ὁ Μιλήσιος (ἦν δὲ Θρασυβούλου τοῦ τυράννου νόθος) καὶ ἐξῄει τεταραγ-
F μένος καὶ σὺν ὀργῇ τινι πρὸς αὑτὸν οὐδὲν ἡμῖν γε σαφὲς διαλεγόμενος. ὡς δὲ τὸν Θαλῆν εἶδε, μικρὸν ἀνενεγκὼν καὶ καταστάς "οἵαν ὕβριν," εἶπεν, "εἰς ἡμᾶς Περίανδρος ὕβρικεν, ἐκπλεῦσαι μὲν οὐκ ἐάσας ὡρμημένον ἀλλὰ προσμεῖναι δεηθεὶς τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐλθόντι δὲ νέμων κλισίαν ἄτιμον, Αἰολεῖς δὲ καὶ νησιώτας (καὶ τίνας γὰρ οὐχί;) Θρασυβούλου προτιμῶν· Θρασύβουλον γὰρ ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν πέμψαντα προπηλακίσαι βουλόμενος καὶ καταβαλεῖν ὡς δὴ περιορῶν δῆλός ἐστιν."

149 "Εἶτ'," ἔφη, "σὺ δέδιας μὴ καθάπερ Αἰγύπτιοι τοὺς ἀστέρας ὑψώματα καὶ ταπεινώματα λαμβάνοντας ἐν τοῖς τόποις οὓς διεξίασι γίγνεσθαι βελτίονας ἢ χείρονας ἑαυτῶν λέγουσιν, οὕτως ἡ περὶ σὲ διὰ τὸν τόπον ἀμαύρωσις ἢ ταπείνωσις γένηται; καὶ τοῦ Λάκωνος ἔσῃ φαυλότερος, ὃς ἐν χορῷ τινι κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην χώραν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος 'εὖ γ',' εἶπεν, 'ἐξεῦρες, ὡς καὶ αὕτα[1] ἔντιμος γένηται.' οὐ καταλαβόντας," ἔφη, "τόπον μετὰ τίνας κατακείμεθα δεῖ ζητεῖν, μᾶλλον δ' ὅπως εὐάρμοστοι τοῖς συγκατακειμένοις ὦμεν, ἀρχὴν καὶ λαβὴν φιλίας εὐθὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς ζητοῦντες,[2]
B μᾶλλον δ' ἔχοντες τὸ μὴ δυσκολαίνειν ἀλλ' ἐπαινεῖν ὅτι τοιούτοις συγκατεκλίθημεν· ὡς ὅ γε τόπῳ

[1] αὕτα Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and F.C.B. independently: αὐτά.
[2] ζητοῦντες Reiske: ζηλοῦντες or δηλοῦντες.

[a] A remark to like effect is assigned to Agesilaus in *Moralia*, 208 D, and to Damonidas in *Moralia*, 219 E. The idea is also credited to Aristippus by Diogenes Laertius, ii. 73.

Alexidemus of Miletus met us. He was a son of the despot Thrasybulus, but born out of wedlock. He was coming out in a state of great agitation, angrily talking to himself, but saying nothing that was intelligible to us. When he saw Thales he recovered himself a little, stopped, and exclaimed, "What an insult! To think that Periander should behave so toward us! Why, he simply would not hear of my going away when I was bent on going, but begged me to stay over for the dinner; and then when I came he assigned to me an ignominious place, setting Aeolians, and men from the islands, and what not, above Thrasybulus. For it is plain that in my person he wishes to offer insult to Thrasybulus, who delegated me to come, and to put him low down to show that he purposely ignores him."

"So then," said Thales, "as the Egyptians say of the stars, when they gain or lose altitude in their courses, that they are growing better or worse than they were before, do you fear that the obscuration and degradation affecting you because of your place at table will be brought about in a similar way? And you will be contemptible when compared with the Spartan[a] who in a chorus was put by the director in the very last place, whereupon he exclaimed, 'Good! You have found out how this may be made a place of honour.' When we have taken our places," continued Thales, "we ought not to try to discover who has been placed above us, but rather how we may be thoroughly agreeable to those placed with us, by trying at once to discover in them something that may serve to initiate and keep up friendship, and, better yet, by harbouring no discontent but an open satisfaction in being placed next to such persons as

(149) κλισίας δυσχεραίνων δυσχεραίνει τῷ συγκλίτῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ κεκληκότι, καὶ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἀπεχθάνεται."

"Λόγος," ἔφη, "ταῦτ' ἄλλως ἐστίν" ὁ Ἀλεξίδημος, "ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς ὑμᾶς ὁρῶ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι διώκοντας," καὶ ἅμα παραμειψάμενος ἡμᾶς ἀπῆλθε.

Καὶ ὁ Θαλῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου θαυμάζοντας, "ἔμπληκτος," ἔφη, "καὶ ἀλλόκοτος φύσει, ἐπεὶ καὶ μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι, μύρου σπουδαίου Θρασυβούλῳ κομισθέντος, εἰς ψυκτῆρα
C κατεράσας μέγαν καὶ προσεγχέας ἄκρατον ἐξέπιεν, ἔχθραν ἀντὶ φιλίας Θρασυβούλῳ διαπεπραγμένος."

Ἐκ τούτου περιελθὼν ὑπηρέτης "κελεύει σε Περίανδρος," ἔφη, "καὶ Θαλῆν παραλαβόντα τοῦτον ἐπισκέψασθαι τὸ κεκομισμένον ἀρτίως αὐτῷ πότερον ἄλλως γέγονεν ἤ τι σημεῖόν ἐστι καὶ τέρας· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἔοικε τεταράχθαι σφόδρα, μίασμα καὶ κηλῖδα τῆς θυσίας ἡγούμενος." ἅμα δ' ἀπῆγεν ἡμᾶς εἴς τι οἴκημα τῶν περὶ τὸν κῆπον. ἐνταῦθα νεανίσκος ὡς ἐφαίνετο νομευτικός, οὔπω γενειῶν ἄλλως τε τὸ εἶδος οὐκ ἀγεννής, ἀναπτύξας τινὰ διφθέραν ἔδειξεν ἡμῖν βρέφος ὡς ἔφη γεγονὸς ἐξ ἵππου, τὰ μὲν ἄνω μέχρι τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ τῶν
D χειρῶν ἀνθρωπόμορφον, τὰ λοιπὰ δ' ἔχον ἵππου, τῇ δὲ φωνῇ καθάπερ τὰ νεογνὰ παιδάρια κλαυθμυριζόμενον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Νειλόξενος, "Ἀλεξίκακε"

these. For, in every case, a man that objects to his place at table is objecting to his neighbour rather than to his host, and he makes himself hateful to both."

"All this," said Alexidemus, "is merely talk that means nothing. As a matter of fact, I observe that all you wise men too make it your aim in life to have honour shown you"; and with that he passed by us and departed.

Thales, in answer to our look of astonishment at the man's extraordinary conduct, said, "A crazy fellow, and uncouth by nature; as an instance, when he was still a boy, some especially fine perfume was brought to Thrasybulus, and this the youngster emptied into a big wine-cooler, and on top of it poured strong wine, and drank it off, thus creating enmity instead of friendship for Thrasybulus."

Just then a servant made his way to us and said, "Periander bids you, and Thales too, to take your friend here with you and inspect something which has just now been brought to him, to determine whether its birth is of no import whatever, or whether it is a sign and portent; at any rate, he himself seemed to be greatly agitated, feeling that it was a pollution and blot upon his solemn festival." With these words he conducted us to one of the rooms off the garden. Here a youth, a herdsman apparently, beardless as yet, and not bad-looking withal, unfolded a piece of leather, and showed us a newly-born creature which he asserted was the offspring of a mare. Its upper parts as far as the neck and arms were of human form, and the sound of its crying was just like that of newly-born infants, but the rest of its body was that of a horse. Neiloxenus merely exclaimed, "God save us," and turned his face away;

(149) εἰπών, ἀπεστράφη τὴν ὄψιν, ὁ δὲ Θαλῆς προσέβλεπε τῷ νεανίσκῳ πολὺν χρόνον, εἶτα μειδιάσας (εἰώθει δ' ἀεὶ παίζειν πρὸς ἐμὲ περὶ τῆς τέχνης) "ἦ που τὸν καθαρμόν, ὦ Διόκλεις," ἔφη, "κινεῖν διανοῇ καὶ παρέχειν πράγματα τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις, ὥς τινος δεινοῦ καὶ μεγάλου συμβάντος;"

"Τί δ'," εἶπον, "οὐ μέλλω; στάσεως γάρ, ὦ Θαλῆ, καὶ διαφορᾶς τὸ σημεῖόν ἐστι, καὶ δέδια μὴ μέχρι γάμου καὶ γενεᾶς ἐξίκηται, πρὶν ἢ τὸ πρῶτον ἐξιλάσασθαι μήνιμα, τῆς θεοῦ δεύτερον ὡς ὁρᾷς προφαινούσης."

E Πρὸς τοῦτο μηδὲν ἀποκρινάμενος ὁ Θαλῆς ἀλλὰ γελῶν ἀπηλλάττετο. καὶ τοῦ Περιάνδρου πρὸς τὰς θύρας ἀπαντήσαντος ἡμῖν καὶ διαπυθομένου περὶ ὧν εἴδομεν, ἀφεὶς ὁ Θαλῆς με καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς ἐκείνου χειρὸς ἔφη, "ἃ μὲν Διοκλῆς κελεύει δράσεις καθ' ἡσυχίαν· ἐγὼ δέ σοι παραινῶ νέοις οὕτω μὴ χρῆσθαι νομεῦσιν ἵππων, ἢ διδόναι γυναῖκας αὐτοῖς."

Ἔδοξε μὲν οὖν μοι τῶν λόγων ἀκούσας ὁ Περίανδρος ἡσθῆναι σφόδρα· καὶ γὰρ ἐξεγέλασε καὶ τὸν Θαλῆν περιβαλὼν κατησπάσατο. κἀκεῖνος "οἶμαι δ'," εἶπεν, "ὦ Διόκλεις, καὶ πέρας ἔσχε[1] τὸ F σημεῖον· ὁρᾷς γὰρ ἡλίκον κακὸν γέγονεν ἡμῖν, Ἀλεξιδήμου συνδειπνεῖν μὴ θελήσαντος."

4. Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσήλθομεν, ἤδη μεῖζον ὁ Θαλῆς φθεγξάμενος "ποῦ δ'" εἶπεν "ὁ ἀνὴρ κατακλινάμενος ἐδυσχέρανεν;" ἀποδειχθείσης δὲ τῆς χώρας περιελθὼν ἐκεῖ κατέκλινεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς "ἀλλὰ

[1] ἔσχε F.C.B.: ἔχειν Reiske and Hatzidakis: εἶχε or ἔχει.

[a] *Cf.* Phaedrus, *Fabulae*, iii. 3.

but Thales fixed his gaze upon the youth for a long time, and then, with a smile (for he was in the habit of joking with me about my profession), said, "No doubt, Diocles, you are minded to set in operation your ritual of atonement, and to trouble the gods who deliver us from evil, since you must feel that something terrible and momentous has befallen?"

"Why not?" said I, "since this thing is a sign of strife and discord, Thales, and I fear that it may go so far as to affect even marriage and offspring, because, even before we have made full atonement for the first fault that moved the goddess to wrath, she plainly shows us, as you see, that there is a second."

To this Thales made no answer, but withdrew, laughing all the while. Periander met us at the door, and inquired about what we had seen; whereupon Thales left me and took his hand, saying, "Whatever Diocles bids you do you will carry out at your own convenience, but my recommendation to you is that you should not employ such young men as keepers of horses, or else that you should provide wives for them." [a]

It seemed to me that Periander, on hearing his words, was mightily pleased, for he burst out laughing and embraced Thales most affectionately. "I think, Diocles," said Thales, "that the sign has already had its fulfilment, for you see what a bad thing has happened to us in that Alexidemus would not dine with us!"

4. When we had entered the dining-room, Thales, in a louder voice than usual, said, "Where is the place at table to which the man objected?" And when its position was pointed out to him he made his way to it, and placed himself and us there, at the same

κἂν ἐπριάμην" εἰπών "Ἀρδάλῳ κοινωνεῖν μιᾶς τραπέζης." ἦν δὲ Τροιζήνιος ὁ Ἄρδαλος, αὐλῳδὸς
150 καὶ ἱερεὺς τῶν Ἀρδαλείων Μουσῶν, ἃς ὁ παλαιὸς Ἄρδαλος ἱδρύσατο ὁ Τροιζήνιος.

Ὁ δ' Αἴσωπος (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ὑπὸ Κροίσου νεωστὶ πρός τε Περίανδρον ἅμα καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ παρῆν ἐπὶ δίφρου τινὸς χαμαιζήλου παρὰ τὸν Σόλωνα καθήμενος ἄνω κατακείμενον) "ἡμίονος δ'," ἔφη, "Λυδὸς ἐν ποταμῷ τῆς ὄψεως ἑαυτοῦ κατιδὼν εἰκόνα καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος ὥρμησε θεῖν ὥσπερ ἵππος ἀναχαιτίσας. εἶτα μέντοι συμφρονήσας ὡς ὄνου υἱὸς εἴη, κατέπαυσε
B ταχὺ τὸν δρόμον καὶ ἀφῆκε τὸ φρύαγμα καὶ τὸν θυμόν."

Ὁ δὲ Χίλων λακωνίσας τῇ φωνῇ, "καὶ τύνη," ἔφη, "βραδὺς καὶ τρέχεις τὸν ἡμίονον."

Ἐκ τούτου παρῆλθε μὲν ἡ Μέλισσα καὶ κατεκλίθη παρὰ τὸν Περίανδρον, ἡ δ' Εὔμητις ἐκάθισε παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον. καὶ ὁ Θαλῆς ἐμὲ προσαγορεύσας ἐπάνω τοῦ Βίαντος κατακείμενον "τί οὐκ ἔφρασας," εἶπεν, "ὦ Διόκλεις, Βίαντι τὸν Ναυκρατίτην ξένον ἥκοντα μετὰ προβλημάτων βασιλικῶν αὖθις ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὅπως νήφων καὶ προσέχων ἑαυτῷ τὸν λόγον δέχηται;"

Καὶ ὁ Βίας "ἀλλ' οὗτος μέν," ἔφη, "πάλαι
C δεδίττεται ταῦτα παρακελευόμενος, ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν Διόνυσον οἶδα τά τ' ἄλλα δεινὸν ὄντα καὶ Λύσιον ἀπὸ[1] σοφίας προσαγορευόμενον, ὥστ' οὐ δέδια τοῦ

[1] ἀπὸ Hercher: ὑπὸ.

[a] *Cf.* Pausanias, ii. 31. 3.

time remarking, "Why, I would have given money to share the same table with Ardalus." This Ardalus was from Troezene, a flute-player and a priest of the Ardalian Muses, whose worship his forefather, Ardalus of Troezene, had established.[a]

Aesop too, as it happened, having been sent by Croesus only a short time before on a mission both to Periander and to the god at Delphi, was present at the dinner, seated on a low chair next to Solon, who occupied the place just above. Aesop said[b]: "A Lydian mule caught sight of his own image reflected in a river, and, suddenly struck with admiration at the beauty and great size of his body, tossed his mane and started to run like a horse, but then, recalling that his sire was an ass, he soon stopped his running, and gave up his pride and animation."

Whereupon Chilon, dropping into Laconian dialect, remarked, "It's slow ye are, and ye're running on like the mule."

Just then Melissa came in and took her place on the couch next to Periander, but Eumetis sat during the dinner. Then Thales, addressing himself to me (my place was just above that of Bias), said, "Diocles, why do you not tell Bias at once that our guest from Naucratis has again come to him with a king's problems, so that he may hear them stated while he is sober and circumspect?"

"Hear that!" said Bias; "this man has been trying for a long time to terrify me with such adjurations; but I know that Dionysus, besides being clever in other ways, is called the 'solver' by virtue of wisdom, so I have no fears that if I become

[b] *Cf.* No. 140 in the collection of fables that passes under the name of Aesop.

(150) θεοῦ μεστὸς γενόμενος μὴ ἀθαρσέστερον ἀγωνίσωμαι."

Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἅμα δειπνοῦντες ἔπαιζον· ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον εὐτελέστερον ὁρῶντι τοῦ συνήθους ἐννοεῖν ἐπῄει πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ὡς σοφῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑποδοχὴ καὶ κλῆσις οὐδεμίαν προστίθησι δαπάνην ἀλλὰ συστέλλει μᾶλλον, ἀφαιροῦσα περιεργίας ὄψων καὶ μύρα ξενικὰ καὶ πέμματα καὶ πολυτελῶν οἴνων διαχύσεις, οἷς
D καθ' ἡμέραν χρώμενος ἐπιεικῶς ὁ Περίανδρος ἐν τυραννίδι καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ πράγμασι, τότε πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκαλλωπίζετο λιτότητι καὶ σωφροσύνῃ δαπάνης. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀφελὼν καὶ ἀποκρύψας τὸν συνήθη κόσμον ἐπεδείκνυε σὺν εὐτελείᾳ καὶ μετριότητι κεκοσμημένην.

5. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπήρθησαν αἱ τράπεζαι καὶ στεφάνων παρὰ τῆς Μελίσσης διαδοθέντων ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐσπείσαμεν ἡ δ' αὐλητρὶς ἐπιφθεγξαμένη μικρὰ ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἐκ μέσου μετέστη, προσαγορεύσας τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν ὁ Ἄρδαλος ἠρώτησεν εἰ παρὰ Σκύθαις αὐλητρίδες εἰσίν.

E Ὁ δ' ἐκ τοῦ προστυχόντος "οὐδ' ἄμπελοι" εἶπε.

Τοῦ δ' Ἀρδάλου πάλιν εἰπόντος "ἀλλὰ θεοί γε Σκύθαις εἰσί," "πάνυ μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "γλώσσης ἀνθρωπίνης συνιέντες, οὐχ ὥσπερ δ' οἱ Ἕλληνες οἰόμενοι Σκυθῶν διαλέγεσθαι βέλτιον ὅμως τοὺς θεοὺς ὀστέων καὶ ξύλων ἥδιον ἀκροᾶσθαι νομίζουσιν."

Ὁ δ' Αἴσωπος, "εἴ γ'," εἶπεν, "εἰδείης, ὦ

[a] Dionysus was the god of wine.

filled with his spirit [a] I shall compete with less courage."

In such repartee as this did those men indulge while dining; but to me, as I was noticing that the dinner was plainer than usual, there came the thought that the entertainment and invitation of wise and good men involves no expense, but rather curtails expense, since it does away with over-elaborate viands and imported perfumes and sweetmeats and the serving of costly wines, all of which were in fairly free use every day with Periander in his royal position and wealth and circumstance. But on this occasion he tried to make an impression on the men by simplicity and restraint in expenditure. Nor was this limited to these other matters, but he also made his wife put aside and out of sight her usual elaborate attire, and present herself inexpensively and modestly attired.

5. After the tables had been cleared away, and garlands distributed by Melissa, and we had poured libations, and the flute-girl, after playing a brief accompaniment for our libations, had withdrawn, then Ardalus, addressing Anacharsis, inquired if there were flute-girls among the Scythians.

He answered on the spur of the moment, "No, nor grape-vines either."

When Ardalus again said, "But the Scythians must have gods," he replied, "Certainly, they have gods who understand the language of men; they are not like the Greeks, who, although they think they converse better than the Scythians, yet believe that the gods have more pleasure in listening to the sounds produced by bits of bone and wood."

Thereupon Aesop said, "I would have you know,

ξένε, τοὺς νῦν αὐλοποιοὺς ὡς προέμενοι τὰ νεβρεῖα, χρώμενοι τοῖς ὀνείοις, βέλτιον ἠχεῖν λέγουσιν. διὸ καὶ Κλεοβουλίνη[1] *πρὸς τὸν Φρύγιον αὐλὸν ἠνίξατο*.[2]

F *κνήμῃ νεκρὸς ὄνος με*[3] *κερασφόρῳ οὖας ἔκρουσεν,*[4]

ὥστε θαυμάζειν τὸν ὄνον εἰ παχύτατος καὶ ἀμουσότατος ὢν τἄλλα λεπτότατον καὶ μουσικώτατον ὀστέον παρέχεται."

Καὶ ὁ Νειλόξενος "*ἀμέλει ταῦτ'*," *ἔφη*, "*καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς Ναυκρατίταις ἐγκαλοῦσι Βουσιρῖται· χρώμεθα γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς ὀνείοις εἰς τὸν αὐλόν. ἐκείνοις δὲ καὶ σάλπιγγος ἀκούειν ἀθέμιτον, ὡς ὄνῳ φθεγγομένης ὅμοιον. ὄνον δ' ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων ἴστε δήπου διὰ Τυφῶνα προπηλακιζόμενον.*"

6. Γενομένης *δὲ σιωπῆς ὁ Περίανδρος ὁρῶν βουλόμενον μὲν ὀκνοῦντα δ' ἄρξασθαι τοῦ λόγου*
151 *τὸν Νειλόξενον*, "*ἐγώ τοι*," *εἶπεν*, "*ὦ ἄνδρες ἐπαινῶ καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἄρχοντας, ὅσοι ξένοις πρῶτον εἶτα πολίταις χρηματίζουσι· καὶ νῦν δοκεῖ μοι τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους λόγους οἷον ἐπιχωρίους καὶ συνήθεις βραχὺν χρόνον ἐπισχεῖν, πρόσοδον δ' ὥσπερ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ δοῦναι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκείνοις καὶ βασιλικοῖς, οὓς ὁ βέλτιστος*

[1] Κλεοβουλίνη Wyttenbach: *κλεόβουλον ἡ*.
[2] *ἠνίξατο* Wyttenbach: *ἦξατο* or *ἤρξατο*.
[3] *νεκρὸς ὄνος με* Bernardakis: *νεκρογόνοσαιμε*.
[4] *ἔκρουσεν* Hermann: *ἐκτικρουσε*.

[a] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii. p. 440, Cleobulina, No. 3. The restoration of Bernardakis here adopted is found in the *editio minor*.

[b] The Egyptian god Set presumably, a malignant deity, who was sometimes represented with features of an ass.

my friend, that the modern flute-makers have given up the use of bones from fawns, and use bones from asses, asserting that the latter have a better sound. This fact underlies the riddle[a] which Cleobulina made in regard to the Phrygian flute :

> Full on my ear with a horn-bearing shin did a dead donkey smite me.

So we may well be astonished that the ass, which otherwise is most gross and unmelodious, yet provides us with a bone which is most fine and melodious."

"That, without question," said Neiloxenus, "is the reason for the complaint which the people of Busiris make against us of Naucratis ; for we are already using asses' bones for our flutes. But for them even to hear a trumpet is a sin, because they think it sounds like the bray of an ass ; and you know, of course, that an ass is treated with contumely by the Egyptians on account of Typhon.[b]"

6. There was a pause in the conversation, and Periander, noticing that Neiloxenus wanted to begin his remarks, but was hesitating, said, "I am inclined to commend both states and rulers that take up the business of strangers first and of their own citizens afterwards ; and now it seems to me that we should for a few minutes put a check on our own words, which are, as it were, in their own land where they are well known, and grant audience, as in a legislative sitting, to the royal communication from Egypt, which our excellent friend Neiloxenus has

Cf., for example, O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 102 and 409. *Cf.* also Plutarch, *Moralia*, 362 F, where the present statements are slightly expanded.

(151) ἥκει κομίζων Νειλόξενος Βίαντι, Βίας δὲ βούλεται κοινῇ σκέψασθαι μεθ' ἡμῶν."

Καὶ ὁ Βίας, "ποῦ γὰρ ἢ μετὰ τίνων," ἔφη, "προθυμότερον ἄν τις ἀποκινδυνεύσειεν, εἰ δεῖ, πρὸς τοιαύτας ἀποκρίσεις, ἄλλως τε τοῦ βασιλέως
B κελεύσαντος ἄρξασθαι μὲν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, περιελθεῖν δ' εἰς ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς τὸν λόγον;"

Οὕτω δὴ παρεδίδου μὲν αὐτῷ τὸ γραμματεῖον ὁ Νειλόξενος, ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε λύσαντα παντάπασιν ἐς μέσον ἀναγνῶναι. διάνοιαν δὲ τοιαύτην εἶχε τὰ γεγραμμένα.

"Βασιλεὺς Αἰγυπτίων Ἄμασις λέγει Βίαντι σοφωτάτῳ Ἑλλήνων.

"Βασιλεὺς Αἰθιόπων ἔχει πρὸς ἐμὲ σοφίας ἅμιλλαν. ἡττώμενος δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπὶ πᾶσι συντέθεικεν ἄτοπον ἐπίταγμα καὶ δεινόν, ἐκπιεῖν με κελεύων τὴν θάλατταν. ἔστι δὲ λύσαντι μὲν ἔχειν κώμας τε πολλὰς καὶ πόλεις τῶν ἐκείνου,
C μὴ λύσαντι δ' ἄστεων τῶν περὶ Ἐλεφαντίνην ἀποστῆναι. σκεψάμενος οὖν εὐθὺς ἀπόπεμπε Νειλόξενον. ἃ δὲ δεῖ φίλοις σοῖς ἢ πολίταις γενέσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν οὐ τἀμὰ κωλύσει."

Τούτων ἀναγνωσθέντων οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπισχὼν ὁ Βίας, ἀλλὰ μικρὰ μὲν αὐτὸς πρὸς αὑτῷ γενόμενος μικρὰ δὲ τῷ Κλεοβούλῳ προσομιλήσας ἐγγὺς κατακειμένῳ "τί λέγεις," εἶπεν, "ὦ Ναυκρατῖτα; βασιλεύων ἀνθρώπων τοσούτων Ἄμασις, κεκτημένος δὲ χώραν ἀρίστην τοσαύτην ἐθελήσει ἐπὶ κώμαις ἀδόξοις καὶ λυπραῖς ἐκπιεῖν θάλατταν;"

come to bring to Bias, and which Bias wishes to consider with all of us together."

"Indeed," said Bias, "in what place or company would a man more readily take the risk, if he must, of answering such questions, especially since the king has given instructions to begin with me, and after that the matter is to come round to all the rest of you?"

As he said this Neiloxenus offered him the packet, but Bias bade him by all means to open it and read it aloud. The contents of the letter were to this effect:

"Amasis, king of the Egyptians, to Bias, wisest of the Greeks.

"The king of the Ethiopians is engaged in a contest in wisdom against me. Repeatedly vanquished in all else, he has crowned his efforts by framing an extraordinary and awful demand, bidding me to drink up the ocean. My reward, if I find a solution, is to have many villages and cities of his, and if I do not, I am to withdraw from the towns lying about Elephantine. I beg therefore that you will consider the question, and send back Neiloxenus without delay. And whatever is right for your friends or citizens to receive from us shall meet with no let or hindrance on my part."

After this had been read Bias did not wait long, but, after a few minutes of abstraction and a few words with Cleobulus, whose place was near his, he said, "What is this, my friend from Naucratis? Do you mean to say that Amasis, who is king of so many people and possessed of such an excellent great country, will be willing, for the consideration of some insignificant and miserable villages, to drink up the ocean?"

(151) Καὶ ὁ Νειλόξενος γελάσας "ὡς θελήσαντος," εἶπεν, "ὦ Βία, σκόπει τὸ δυνατόν."

D "Φραζέτω τοίνυν," ἔφη, "τῷ Αἰθίοπι τοὺς ἐμβάλλοντας εἰς τὰ πελάγη ποταμοὺς ἐπισχεῖν, ἕως αὐτὸς ἐκπίνει τὴν νῦν οὖσαν θάλατταν· περὶ ταύτης γὰρ τὸ ἐπίταγμα γέγονεν, οὐ τῆς ὕστερον ἐσομένης."

Ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Βίας, ὁ μὲν Νειλόξενος ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ὥρμησε περιβαλεῖν[1] τὸν Βίαντα καὶ φιλῆσαι· τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐπαινεσάντων καὶ ἀποδεξαμένων γελάσας ὁ Χίλων, "ὦ Ναυκρατῖτα," ἔφη, "ξένε, πρὶν ἀπολέσθαι τὴν θάλατταν ἐκποθεῖσαν ἀπάγγελλε πλεύσας Ἀμάσιδι μὴ ζητεῖν ὅπως ἅλμην ἀναλώσει τοσαύτην, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅπως πότιμον καὶ γλυκεῖαν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὴν

E βασιλείαν παρέξει· περὶ ταῦτα γὰρ δεινότατος Βίας καὶ διδάσκαλος τούτων ἄριστος, ἃ μαθὼν Ἄμασις οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ χρυσοῦ δεήσεται ποδανιπτῆρος ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύσουσι πάντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσουσι χρηστὸν ὄντα, κἂν μυριάκις ἢ νῦν ἀναφανῇ δυσγενέστερος.[2][a]"

"Καὶ μήν," ἔφη ὁ Περίανδρος, "ἄξιόν γε τοιαύτας ἀπαρχὰς τῷ βασιλεῖ συνεισενεγκεῖν ἅπαντας 'ἀνδρακάς,'[b] ὥσπερ ἔφησεν Ὅμηρος· ἐκείνῳ τε γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο πλείονος ἀξία τῆς ἐμπορίας ἡ παρενθήκη, καὶ ἡμῖν ἀντὶ πάντων ὠφέλιμος."

7. Εἰπόντος οὖν τοῦ Χίλωνος ὡς Σόλων κατ-

[1] περιβαλεῖν Hercher: περιβάλλειν.
[2] δυσγενέστερος Reiske: δυσγενέστατος or δυσμενέστερος.

[a] The story of Amasis's low birth and his rise to power is told by Herodotus, ii. 172.
[b] *Odyssey*, xiii. 14.

Neiloxenus answered with a laugh, " Assume that he is willing, and consider what is possible for him to do."

"Well, then," said Bias, "let him tell the Ethiopian to stop the rivers which are now emptying into the ocean depths, while he himself is engaged in drinking up the ocean that now is; for this is the ocean with which the demand is concerned, and not the one which is to be."

As soon as Bias had said these words, Neiloxenus, for very joy, hastened to embrace and kiss him. The rest of the company also commended the answer, and expressed their satisfaction with it, and then Chilon said with a laugh, " My friend, before the ocean disappears entirely in consequence of being drunk up, I beg that you sail back to your home in Naucratis and take word to Amasis not to be trying to find out how to make way with so much bitter brine, but rather how to render his government potable and sweet to his subjects ; for in these matters Bias is most adept and a most competent instructor, and if Amasis will only learn them from him, he will have no further need of his golden foot-tub to impress the Egyptians,[a] but they will all show regard and affection for him if he is good, even though he be shown to be in his birth ten thousand times more lowly than at present."

" Yes, indeed," said Periander, " it surely is right and proper that we all contribute an offering of this sort to the king, ' each man in his turn,' as Homer [b] has said. For to him these extra items would be more valuable than the burden of his mission, and as profitable for ourselves as anything could be."

7. Chilon thereupon said that it was only right that

F ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ λόγου δίκαιός ἐστιν, οὐ μόνον ὅτι πάντων προήκει καθ' ἡλικίαν καὶ τυγχάνει κατακείμενος πρῶτος, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὴν μεγίστην καὶ τελειοτάτην ἀρχὴν ἄρχει νόμους Ἀθηναίοις θέμενος, ὁ οὖν Νειλόξενος ἡσυχῇ πρὸς ἐμέ "πολλά γ'," εἶπεν, "ὦ Διόκλεις, πιστεύεται ψευδῶς, καὶ χαίρουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ λόγους ἀνεπιτηδείους περὶ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτοί τε πλάττοντες καὶ δεχόμενοι παρ' ἑτέρων ἑτοίμως,[1] οἷα καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπηγγέλη περὶ Χίλωνος, ὡς ἄρα διαλύσαιτο τὴν πρὸς Σόλωνα φιλίαν καὶ
152 ξενίαν, ὅτι τοὺς νόμους ὁ Σόλων ἔφη μετακινητοὺς[2] εἶναι."

Καὶ ἐγώ "γελοῖος," ἔφην, "ὁ λόγος· οὕτω γὰρ δεῖ[3] πρῶτον ἀποποιεῖσθαι τὸν Λυκοῦργον αὐτοῖς νόμοις ὅλην μετακινήσαντα τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν."

Μικρὸν οὖν ἐπισχὼν ὁ Σόλων "ἐμοὶ μέν," ἔφη, "δοκεῖ μάλιστ' ἂν ἔνδοξος γενέσθαι καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ τύραννος, εἰ δημοκρατίαν ἐκ μοναρχίας κατασκευάσειε τοῖς πολίταις."

Δεύτερος δ' ὁ Βίας εἶπεν, "εἰ πρῶτος[4] χρῷτο τοῖς νόμοις τῆς πατρίδος."

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δ' ὁ Θαλῆς ἔφησεν, εὐδαιμονίαν ἄρχοντος νομίζειν, εἰ τελευτήσειε γηράσας κατὰ φύσιν.

[1] ἑτοίμως Wyttenbach: ἕτοιμοι.
[2] μὴ μετακινητοὺς Wyttenbach.
[3] δεῖ] ἔδει Duebner.
[4] πρῶτος] πρῶτος τρόποις Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xlviii. 47: hence ἀτρόποις Meineke.

[a] The earlier Athenian laws, which Solon changed, as Lycurgus changed the laws of Sparta. Those who would

Solon should take the lead in speaking on this subject, not merely because he was most advanced in years and was occupying the place of honour, but because he held the greatest and most perfect position as a ruler by getting the Athenians to accept his laws. Thereupon Neiloxenus quietly remarked to me, "It is certain, Diocles, that a good many things come to be believed quite contrary to fact, and most people take delight in fabricating out of their own minds unwarranted tales about wise men, and in readily accepting such tales from others. Such, for instance, was the report, which was brought to us in Egypt, in regard to Chilon, to the effect that he had broken off his friendship and his hospitable relations with Solon because Solon asserted that laws are subject to revision." [a]

"The story is ridiculous," said I; "for in such case Chilon ought first to renounce Lycurgus and all his laws, for Lycurgus revised completely the Spartan constitution."

Solon then, after a moment's delay, said, "In my opinion either a king, or a despot, would best gain repute if out of a monarchy he should organize a democracy for his people."

Next Bias said, "If he should be the very first to conform to his country's laws."

Following him Thales said that he accounted it happiness for a ruler to reach old age and die a natural death.

emend the passage would make it refer to Solon's own laws, but it should be remembered that Solon only desired that the Athenians should try out his laws for a certain length of time, and it is inconceivable that Solon with his great practical wisdom should not realize that his own laws might later need revision.

(152) Τέταρτος Ἀνάχαρσις, "εἰ μόνον[1] εἴη φρόνιμος." Πέμπτος δ' ὁ[2] Κλεόβουλος, "εἰ μηδενὶ πιστεύοι τῶν συνόντων."

B Ἕκτος δ' ὁ Πιττακός, "εἰ τοὺς ὑπηκόους ὁ ἄρχων παρασκευάσειε φοβεῖσθαι μὴ αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ."

Μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ Χίλων ἔφη τὸν ἄρχοντα χρῆναι μηδὲν φρονεῖν θνητόν, ἀλλὰ πάντ' ἀθάνατα.[3]

Ῥηθέντων δὲ τούτων ἠξιοῦμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τι τὸν Περίανδρον. ὁ δ' οὐ μάλα φαιδρὸς ἀλλὰ συστήσας τὸ πρόσωπον "ἐγὼ τοίνυν," ἔφη, "προσαποφαίνομαι τὰς εἰρημένας γνώμας ἁπάσας σχεδὸν ἀφιστάναι[4] τοῦ ἄρχειν τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα."

Καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος οἷον ἐλεγκτικῶς "ἔδει τοίνυν," ἔφη, "τοῦτο καθ' ἑαυτοὺς περαίνειν καὶ μή, C συμβούλους φάσκοντας εἶναι καὶ φίλους, κατηγόρους γίγνεσθαι τῶν ἀρχόντων."

Ἁψάμενος οὖν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὁ Σόλων καὶ διαμειδιάσας εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἂν δοκεῖ σοι μετριώτερον ἄρχοντα ποιεῖν καὶ τύραννον ἐπιεικέστερον ὁ πείθων ὡς ἄμεινον εἴη τὸ μὴ ἄρχειν ἢ τὸ ἄρχειν;"

"Τίς δ' ἄν," ἔφη, "σοὶ τοῦτο πεισθείη μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ θεῷ φράσαντι κατὰ τὸν πρὸς σὲ χρησμόν,

[1] μόνον F.C.B.: μόνος: μὴ μόνος Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xlviii. 47: ἐμμόνως Tucker.

[2] δ' ὁ Bernardakis: δέ.

[3] ὕστατος δ' ὁ Χείλων εἶπε κάλλιστον εἶναι βασιλέα τὸν μὴ μόνου τοῦ φοβερὸν εἶναι φροντίζοντα Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xlviii. 47. This version and the omission of the article with many of

Fourth, Anacharsis said, "If only he have sound sense."

Fifth, Cleobulus, "If he trust none of his associates."

Sixth, Pittacus, "If the ruler should manage to make his subjects fear, not him, but for him." [a]

Chilon followed by saying that a ruler's thoughts should never be the thoughts of a mortal, but of an immortal always.

When these sentiments had been expressed, we insisted that Periander himself should also say something. And he, not very cheerful, but with a hard set face, said, "Well, I may add my view, that the opinions expressed, taken as a whole, practically divorce any man possessed of sense from being a ruler."

Whereupon Aesop, as though taking us to task, said, "You ought, then, to have carried out this discussion by yourselves, and not, while professing to be counsellors and friends, to have made yourselves complainants against rulers."

Solon then, laying his hand on Aesop's head and smiling the while, said, "Don't you think that anyone could make a ruler more moderate and a despot more reasonable if he could persuade them that it is better not to rule than to rule?"

"Who," he replied, "would believe you in this matter in preference to the god who said, according to the oracle referring to you,

[a] Plutarch cites a concrete case in his *Life of Aratus*, chap. xxv. (p. 1039 A).

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the proper names suggests that editors may have relied too much on Stobaeus in altering this passage.

[4] ἀφιστάναι] ἀφεστάναι most MSS.

(152) εὔδαιμον πτολίεθρον ἑνὸς κήρυκος ἀκοῦον[1];"

Καὶ ὁ Σόλων "ἀλλὰ μήν," ἔφη, "καὶ νῦν ἑνὸς
D Ἀθηναῖοι κήρυκος ἀκροῶνται καὶ ἄρχοντος τοῦ νόμου, δημοκρατίαν ἔχοντες. σὺ δὲ δεινὸς εἶ κοράκων ἐπαΐειν καὶ κολοιῶν, τῆς δ' ἴσου[2] φωνῆς οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐξακούεις, ἀλλὰ πόλιν μὲν οἴει κατὰ τὸν θεὸν ἄριστα πράττειν τὴν ἑνὸς ἀκούουσαν, συμποσίου δ' ἀρετὴν νομίζεις τὸ πάντας διαλέγεσθαι καὶ περὶ πάντων."

"Σὺ γάρ," ἔφη ὁ Αἴσωπος, "οὔπω γέγραφας ὅ τι ὅμοιον ἦν[3], οἰκέτας μὴ μεθύειν, ὡς ἔγραψας Ἀθήνησιν οἰκέτας μὴ ἐρᾶν μηδὲ ξηραλοιφεῖν."

Γελάσαντος οὖν τοῦ Σόλωνος Κλεόδωρος ὁ ἰατρός "ἀλλ' ὅμοιον," ἔφη, "τὸ ξηραλοιφεῖν τῷ λαλεῖν ἐν οἴνῳ βρεχόμενον· ἥδιστον γάρ ἐστι."

E Καὶ ὁ Χίλων ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη "διὰ τοῦτό τοι μᾶλλον ἀφεκτέον αὐτοῦ."

Πάλιν δ' ὁ Αἴσωπος, "καὶ μήν," ἔφη, "Θαλῆς ἔδοξεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα γηράσαι.[4]"

8. Γελάσας οὖν ὁ Περίανδρος, "ἔχομεν," εἶπεν, "Αἴσωπε, τὴν δίκην προσηκόντως ἅτε,[5] πρὶν ἢ τοὺς Ἀμάσιδος οὓς[6] προειλόμεθα πάντας εἰσαγαγεῖν λόγους, εἰς ἑτέρους ἐμπεσόντες. ὅρα δή, Νειλόξενε,

[1] ἀκοῦον Xylander: ἀκούειν.
[2] δ' ἴσου F.C.B., *cf. Life of Eumenes*, chap. xiv. *ad init.*: δὲ θεοῦ Reiske: δ' Αἰδοῦς Tucker: δὲ σοῦ.
[3] ὅ τι ὅμοιον ἦν F.C.B.: ὅ τι ὅμοιον.
[4] γηράσαι F.C.B.: γηράσει.
[5] ἅτε F.C.B.: ὅτι.
[6] οὓς in one MS. only.

[a] Aesop, now received as an equal among people of the highest standing, had been a slave in his earlier years, and does not hesitate to joke about the fact.

Blessed the city that hears the command of one herald only?"

"Yet it is a fact," said Solon, "that even now the Athenians hearken to one herald and ruler only, and that one, the law, under their democratic constitution. You are clever in understanding ravens and jackdaws, but you have no true ear for the voice of equality, but think that, according to the god, the city which hearkens to one man fares the best, whereas in a social gathering you regard it as a virtue to have everybody talk and on every sort of subject."

"Yes," said Aesop, "that is because you have not yet written a law that slaves[a] shall not get drunk, which would be a similar law to fit this case, as at Athens you wrote a law that slaves shall not have any love-affair and shall not rub down like athletes."[b]

Solon laughed at this and Cleodorus the physician said, "Nevertheless rubbing down dry is similar to talking when soaked with wine in that it is most agreeable."

And Chilon, interrupting, said, "The more reason then for refraining from it."

"I could swear," said Aesop, speaking again, "that Thales appeared to bid a man to grow old as fast as possible."[c]

8. Periander at this burst out laughing, and said, "We are fittingly punished, Aesop, for becoming involved in other subjects before introducing all of those from Amasis, to which we gave precedence. I beg, Neiloxenus, that you will look at the rest of

[b] A reason for the prohibition is given in Plutarch's *Life of Solon*, chap. i. (p. 79 A).

[c] So as to obtain happiness; Aesop twists Thales' remark made a few moments before (*supra*, 152 A).

τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ χρῶ παροῦσιν ἐν ταὐτῷ[1] *τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.*"

"*Ἀλλὰ μήν,*" *ὁ* Νειλόξενος *ἔφη,* "*τὴν μὲν τοῦ* Αἰθίοπος *ἐπίταξιν οὐδὲν ἄν τις ἄλλο πλὴν* '*ἀχνυμένην σκυτάλην*' *προσείποι κατ'* Ἀρχί-
F *λοχον, ὁ δὲ σὸς ξένος* Ἄμασις *ἡμερώτερος ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις προβλήμασι καὶ μουσικώτερος γέγονεν· ἐκέλευσε γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τὸ πρεσβύτατον καὶ τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ τὸ μέγιστον καὶ τὸ σοφώτατον καὶ τὸ κοινότατον, καὶ ναὶ μὰ* Δία *πρὸς τούτοις τὸ ὠφελιμώτατον, καὶ τὸ*[2] *βλαβερώτατον καὶ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ τὸ ῥᾷστον εἰπεῖν.*"

"Ἆρ' *οὖν ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ διέλυσε τούτων ἕκαστον;*"

"Οὕτως," *ὁ* Νειλόξενος *ἔφη·* "*κρίνετε δ' ὑμεῖς ἀκούσαντες. περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς*
153 *ποιεῖται μήτε συκοφαντῶν ἁλῶναι τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, εἴ τέ τι σφάλλεται κατὰ ταύτας ὁ*[3] *ἀποκρινάμενος, τοῦτο μὴ διαφυγεῖν ἀνεξέλεγκτον. ἀναγνώσομαι δ' ὑμῖν ὥσπερ ἀπεκρίνατο·*

'Τί *πρεσβύτατον;*' '*χρόνος.*'
'Τί *μέγιστον;*' '*κόσμος.*'
'Τί *σοφώτατον;*' '*ἀλήθεια.*'
'Τί *κάλλιστον;*' '*φῶς.*'
'Τί *κοινότατον;*' '*θάνατος.*'
'Τί *ὠφελιμώτατον;*' '*θεός.*'
'Τί *βλαβερώτατον;*' '*δαίμων.*'

[1] *ταὐτῷ* Reiske: *τούτῳ*.
[2] *τὸ* added by Hercher. [3] *ὁ* added by Wyttenbach.

[a] *Cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii. p. 708, Archilochus, No.

the letter and take advantage of the fact that the men are all here together."

"Well, in truth," said Neiloxenus, "the demand of the Ethiopian can hardly be called anything but a 'depressing cryptic dispatch,' [a] to borrow a phrase from Archilochus, but your friend Amasis is more civilized and cultivated in proposing such questions; for he bade the king name the oldest thing, the most beautiful, the greatest, the wisest, the most common, and besides these, as I can attest, to name also the most helpful thing and the most harmful, and the strongest and the easiest."

"Did the Ethiopian king give an answer and a solution for each of these questions?"

"Yes, in his way," said Neiloxenus, "but you must judge for yourselves when you hear his answers. For my king holds it to be a very important matter not to be caught impugning the answers falsely; and likewise, if the respondent is making any slip in these, he would not have this pass unquestioned. I will read the answers of the Ethiopian as he gave them:

(*a*) 'What is the oldest thing?' 'Time.'
(*b*) 'What is the greatest?' 'The universe.'
(*c*) 'What is the wisest?' 'Truth.'
(*d*) 'What is the most beautiful?' 'Light.'
(*e*) 'What is most common?' 'Death.'
(*f*) 'What is most helpful?' 'God.'
(*g*) 'What is most harmful?' 'An evil spirit.'

[a] The reference is to a well-known form of cipher message in use among the Spartans. A narrow leather thong was wrapped around a cylinder, and on the surface thus formed the message was written. When the thong was received it was applied to a duplicate cylinder kept by the recipient, and so the message was read.

(153) 'Τί ῥωμαλεώτατον;' 'τύχη.'
'Τί ῥᾷστον;' 'ἡδύ.'"

9. Τούτων πάλιν ἀναγνωσθέντων, ὦ Νίκαρχε, γενομένης σιωπῆς Θαλῆς ἠρώτησε τὸν Νειλόξενον εἰ προσήκατο τὰς λύσεις ὁ Ἄμασις. ἐκείνου δ' εἰπόντος ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἀπεδέξατο ταῖς δ' ἐδυσκόλαινε,
B "καὶ μὴν οὐδέν," εἶπεν ὁ Θαλῆς, "ἀνεπίληπτόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἔχει πάντα διαμαρτίας μεγάλας καὶ ἀγνοίας. οἷον εὐθὺς ὁ χρόνος πῶς ἂν εἴη πρεσβύτατον, εἰ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ γεγονὸς τὸ δ' ἐνεστὼς ἐστι τὸ δὲ μέλλον; ὁ γὰρ μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἐσόμενος χρόνος καὶ πραγμάτων τῶν νῦν καὶ ἀνθρώπων νεώτερος ἂν φανείη. τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἡγεῖσθαι σοφίαν οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ διαφέρειν τοῦ τὸ φῶς ὀφθαλμὸν ἀποφαίνειν. εἰ δὲ τὸ φῶς καλόν, ὥσπερ ἐστίν,[1] ἐνόμιζε, πῶς τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν παρεῖδε; τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἡ μὲν περὶ θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων ἀπόκρισις θράσος ἔχει καὶ κίνδυνον,
C ἀλογίαν δὲ καὶ πολλὴν ἡ περὶ τῆς τύχης· οὐ γὰρ ἂν μετέπιπτε ῥᾳδίως οὕτως, ἰσχυρότατον οὖσα τῶν ὄντων καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατον. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ θάνατος κοινότατόν ἐστιν· οὐ γάρ ἐστι πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ δοκῶμεν εὐθύνειν τὰς τῶν ἑτέρων ἀποφάσεις, ἰδίας[2] ταῖς ἐκείνου παραβάλωμεν· ἐμαυτὸν δὲ παρέχω πρῶτον, εἰ βούλεται Νειλόξενος, ἐρωτᾶν καθ' ἕκαστον. ὡς οὖν ἐγέ-

[1] καλὸν ὥσπερ ἐστὶν Reiske: ὥσπερ καλόν ἐστιν.
[2] ἀποφάσεις, ἰδίας F.C.B.: ἰδίας ἀποφάσεις: Paton would merely read τὰ for τὰς.

(*h*) 'What is strongest?' 'Fortune.'
(*i*) 'What is easiest?' 'Pleasure.'"

9. After this second reading, there was silence for a time, and then Thales asked Neiloxenus if Amasis had approved the answers. When Neiloxenus replied that Amasis had accepted some, but was much dissatisfied with others, Thales said, "As a matter of fact there is not a thing in them that cannot be impugned, but they all contain gross errors and evidences of ignorance. For instance, in the very first one, how can time be the oldest thing if a part of it is past, a part present, and a part future?[a] For the time which is to come would clearly be younger than events and persons that now are. And to hold that truth is wisdom seems to me no different from declaring that light is the eye. If he thought the light beautiful, as it really is, how did he come to overlook the sun itself? Among the others the answer about gods and evil spirits evinces boldness and daring, but the one about Fortune contains much bad logic; for Fortune would not be so fickle about abiding with one if it were the mightiest and strongest thing in existence. Nor is death, in fact, the most common thing; for it does not affect the living.[b] But, to avoid giving the impression of merely passing judgement upon the statements of others, let us compare answers of our own with his. And I offer myself as the first, if Neiloxenus so desires, to be questioned on each topic; and taking the questions

[a] Plutarch, *Moralia*, 1081 c–1082 d, argues at some length about the Stoic conception of time.

[b] Probably an adaptation of one of Epicurus's "leading principles," ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, "death is nothing to us," who are alive. *Cf.* Diogenes Laertius, x. 139, and Plutarch, *Moralia*, 37 a.

(153) νοντο τότε, κἀγὼ νῦν διηγήσομαι τὰς ἐρωτήσεις καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις·

'Τί πρεσβύτατον;' 'θεός,'" ἔφη Θαλῆς· "'ἀγέννητον γάρ ἐστι.'

'Τί μέγιστον;' 'τόπος· τἆλλα μὲν γὰρ ὁ
D κόσμος, τὸν δὲ κόσμον οὗτος περιέχει.'

'Τί κάλλιστον;' 'κόσμος· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ κατὰ τάξιν τούτου μέρος ἐστί.'

'Τί σοφώτατον;' 'χρόνος· τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὕρηκεν οὗτος ἤδη, τὰ δ' εὑρήσει.'

'Τί κοινότατον;' 'ἐλπίς· καὶ γὰρ οἷς ἄλλο μηδέν, αὕτη πάρεστι.'

'Τί ὠφελιμώτατον;' 'ἀρετή· καὶ γὰρ τἆλλα τῷ χρῆσθαι καλῶς ὠφέλιμα ποιεῖ.'

'Τί βλαβερώτατον;' 'κακία· καὶ γὰρ τὰ πλεῖστα[1] βλάπτει παραγενομένη.'

'Τί ἰσχυρότατον;' 'ἀνάγκη· μόνον γὰρ ἀνίκητον.'

'Τί ῥᾷστον;' 'τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς ἡδονάς γε πολλάκις ἀπαγορεύουσιν.'"

E 10. Ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ πάντων τὸν Θαλῆν, ὁ Κλεόδωρος εἶπε, "τοιαῦτ'[2] ἐρωτᾶν καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι βασιλεῦσιν, ὦ Νειλόξενε, προσῆκόν ἐστιν· ὁ δὲ προπίνων τὴν θάλατταν Ἀμάσιδι βάρβαρος ἐδεῖτο τῆς Πιττακοῦ βραχυλογίας, ᾗ πρὸς Ἀλυάττην ἐχρήσατο προστάττοντά τι καὶ γράφοντα Λεσβίοις

[1] πλεῖστα] χρηστά, Stobaeus, ii. 21.
[2] τοιαῦτα] τοσαῦτα most MSS.

[a] Either Thales or a copyist has transposed (*c*) and (*d*).
[b] Most of these sentiments are attributed to Thales in works of other authors, as well as in other places in the *Moralia*.

in the order given,[a] I will repeat them, together with my answers [b]:

(*a*) 'What is the oldest thing?' 'God,'" said Thales, "'for God is something that has no beginning.'

(*b*) 'What is greatest?' 'Space; for while the universe contains within it all else, this contains the universe.'

(*c*) 'What is most beautiful?' 'The Universe; for everything that is ordered as it should be is a part of it.'

(*d*) 'What is wisest?' 'Time; for it has discovered some things already, and shall discover all the rest.'

(*e*) 'What is most common?' 'Hope; for those who have nothing else have that ever with them.'

(*f*) 'What is most helpful?' 'Virtue; for it makes everything else helpful by putting it to a good use.'

(*g*) 'What is most harmful?' 'Vice; for it harms the greatest number of things by its presence.'

(*h*) 'What is strongest?' 'Necessity; for that alone is insuperable.'

(*i*) 'What is easiest?' 'To follow Nature's course; because people often weary of pleasures.'"

10. When all had expressed their satisfaction with Thales, Cleodorus said, "Asking and answering such questions is all right for kings. But the barbarian who would have Amasis drink up the ocean to do him honour needed the terse retort which Pittacus used to Alyattes, when the latter wrote and sent an overbearing command to the Lesbians. The only answer

It may suffice here to refer, for example, to Diogenes Laertius, i. 35. The two numbered (*f*) and (*g*) are rather suggestive of the Stoic school of philosophy.

ὑπερήφανον, ἀποκρινάμενος οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον κελεύσας κρόμμυα καὶ θερμὸν ἄρτον ἐσθίειν."

Ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Περίανδρος "ἀλλὰ μήν," ἔφη, "καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔθος ἦν, ὦ Κλεόδωρε,
F τοιαύτας ἀλλήλοις ἀπορίας προβάλλειν. ἀκούομεν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὰς Ἀμφιδάμαντος ταφὰς εἰς Χαλκίδα τῶν τότε σοφῶν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι ποιηταὶ συνῆλθον· ἦν δ' ὁ Ἀμφιδάμας ἀνὴρ πολεμικός, καὶ πολλὰ πράγματα παρασχὼν Ἐρετριεῦσιν ἐν ταῖς περὶ Ληλάντου[1] μάχαις ἔπεσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παρεσκευασμένα τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἔπη χαλεπὴν καὶ δύσκολον ἐποίει τὴν κρίσιν διὰ τὸ ἐφάμιλλον, ἥ τε δόξα τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν, Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου, πολλὴν
154 ἀπορίαν μετ' αἰδοῦς τοῖς κρίνουσι παρεῖχεν, ἐτράποντο πρὸς τοιαύτας ἐρωτήσεις, καὶ προέβαλ' ὁ μέν, ὥς φησι[2] Λέσχης,

> Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε κεῖνα, τὰ μήτ' ἐγένοντο πάροιθε
> μήτ' ἔσται μετόπισθεν,

ἀπεκρίνατο δ' Ἡσίοδος ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος

> ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀμφὶ Διὸς τύμβῳ καναχήποδες ἵπποι
> ἅρματα συντρίψωσιν ἐπειγόμενοι περὶ νίκης.

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται μάλιστα θαυμασθεὶς τοῦ τρίποδος τυχεῖν."

"Τί δὲ ταῦθ'," ὁ Κλεόδωρος εἶπε, "διαφέρει
B τῶν Εὐμήτιδος αἰνιγμάτων; ἃ ταύτην μὲν ἴσως

[1] Ληλάντου Wyttenbach: λαλάντου or λιλάντου.
[2] φησι] φασι in some mss.

[a] Ἴσον τῷ κλαίειν was the old explanation; that is, "weep," or "go hang."

[b] Some mss. make Lesches propound the question, and other tradition makes Hesiod the questioner, to whom Homer replies. *Cf.* note *c* below.

he made was to tell Alyattes to eat onions and hot bread."[a]

Periander now entered into the conversation, and said, "Nevertheless it is a fact, Cleodorus, that the ancient Greeks also had a habit of propounding such perplexing questions to one another. For we have the story that the most famous poets among the wise men of that time gathered at Chalcis to attend the funeral of Amphidamas. Now Amphidamas was a warrior who had given much trouble to the Eretrians, and had fallen in one of the battles for the possession of the Lelantine plain. But since the verses composed by the poets made the decision a difficult and troublesome matter because they were so evenly matched, and since the repute of the contestants, Homer and Hesiod, caused the judges much perplexity as well as embarrassment, the poets resorted to questionings of this sort, and Homer, as Lesches asserts,[b] propounded this:

> Tell me, O Muse, of events which never have happened aforetime,
> Nor in the future shall ever betide,

and Hesiod answered quite off-hand:

> When round Zeus in his tomb rush the steeds with galloping hoof-beats,
> Crashing car against car, as they eagerly run for a trophy.

And for this it is said that he gained the greatest admiration and won the tripod."[c]

"But what difference is there," said Cleodorus, "between things like this and Eumetis's riddles?

[c] It is of interest to compare the long and variant account given in the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, a work of the second century A.D. which is usually included at the end of editions of Hesiod, also in the 5th vol. of the edition of Homer in the Oxford Classical Texts.

(154) οὐκ ἀπρεπές ἐστι παίζουσαν καὶ διαπλέκουσαν ὥσπερ ἕτεραι ζωνία καὶ κεκρυφάλους προβάλλειν ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἄνδρας δὲ νοῦν ἔχοντας ἔν τινι σπουδῇ τίθεσθαι γελοῖον."

Ἡ μὲν οὖν Εὔμητις ἡδέως ἂν εἰποῦσά τι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἐφαίνετο, κατέσχεν ἑαυτὴν ὑπ' αἰδοῦς, καὶ ἀνεπλήσθη τὸ πρόσωπον ἐρυθήματος· ὁ δ' Αἴσωπος οἷον ἀμυνόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς "οὐ γελοιότερον οὖν," εἶπε, "τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ταῦτα διαλύειν, οἷόν ἐστιν ὃ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἡμῖν τοῦ δείπνου προέβαλεν,

ἄνδρ' εἶδον πυρὶ χαλκὸν ἐπ' ἀνέρι κολλήσαντα;[a]

τί τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἔχοις ἂν εἰπεῖν;"

C "'Αλλ' οὐδὲ μαθεῖν δέομαι," ἔφη ὁ Κλεόδωρος.

"Καὶ μὴν οὐδείς," ἔφη, "σοῦ[1] τοῦτο μᾶλλον οἶδεν οὐδὲ ποιεῖ βέλτιον· εἰ δ' ἀρνῇ, μάρτυρας ἔχω σικύας.[2]"

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κλεόδωρος ἐγέλασε· καὶ γὰρ ἐχρῆτο μάλιστα ταῖς σικύαις[2] τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν ἰατρῶν, καὶ δόξαν οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸ βοήθημα τοῦτο δι' ἐκεῖνον ἔσχηκε.

11. Μνησίφιλος[b] δ' ὁ 'Αθηναῖος, ἑταῖρος ὢν καὶ ζηλωτὴς Σόλωνος, "ἐγώ τοι," εἶπεν, "ὦ Περίανδρε, τὸν λόγον ἀξιῶ καθάπερ τὸν οἶνον μὴ πλουτίνδην μηδ' ἀριστίνδην ἀλλ' ἐξ ἴσου πᾶσιν ὥσπερ
D ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ νέμεσθαι καὶ κοινὸν εἶναι· τῶν δ'

[1] ἔφη σοῦ Meziriacus: ἔφησε.
[2] Most mss. have σικυωνίας and σικυωνίαις.

[a] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii. p. 440, Cleobulina, No. 1.
[b] Mnesiphilus, according to Plutarch, *Life of Themistocles*, chap. ii. (p. 112 D), handed down the political wisdom of

Perhaps it is not unbecoming for her to amuse herself and to weave these as other girls weave girdles and hair-nets, and to propound them to women, but the idea that men of sense should take them at all seriously is ridiculous."

Eumetis, to judge by her appearance, would have liked to give him an answer, but restrained herself with all modesty, and her face was covered with blushes. But Aesop, as though he would take her part, said, "Is it not then even more ridiculous not to be able to solve these? Take, for instance, the one which she propounded to us a few minutes before dinner:

Sooth I have seen a man with fire fasten bronze on another.[a]

Could you tell me what this is?"

"No," said Cleodorus, "and I don't want to be told, either."

"Yet it is a fact," said Aesop, "that nobody knows this more perfectly than you, or does it better, either; and if you deny this, I have cupping-glasses to testify to it."

At this Cleodorus laughed; for of all the physicians of his time he was most given to the use of cupping-glasses, and it was largely owing to him that this form of treatment has come to have such repute.

11. Mnesiphilus the Athenian,[b] a warm friend and admirer of Solon's, said, "I think it is no more than fair, Periander, that the conversation, like the wine, should not be apportioned on the basis of wealth or rank, but equally to all, as in a democracy, and that

Solon to Themistocles. At any rate Herodotus, viii. 57, represents Mnesiphilus as advising Themistocles against withdrawing the Greek fleet from Salamis. *Cf.* also Plutarch, *Moralia*, 869 D-E.

(154) ἄρτι περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας εἰρημένων οὐδὲν ἡμῖν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς μέτεστιν. ὅθεν οἰόμεθα δεῖν πάλιν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν περὶ πολιτείας ἰσονόμου γνώμην τινὰ συμβαλέσθαι, ἀρξαμένους αὖθις ἀπὸ Σόλωνος."

Ἐδόκει δὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν. καὶ πρῶτος ὁ Σόλων "ἀλλ' ἀκήκοας μέν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Μνησίφιλε, μετὰ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἣν ἔχω γνώμην περὶ πολιτείας· εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ νῦν ἀκούειν, δοκεῖ μοι πόλις ἄριστα πράττειν καὶ μάλιστα σῴζειν δημοκρατίαν, E ἐν ᾗ τὸν ἀδικήσαντα τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος οὐδὲν ἧττον οἱ μὴ ἀδικηθέντες προβάλλονται καὶ κολάζουσι."

Δεύτερος δ' ὁ Βίας ἔφησε[1] κρατίστην εἶναι δημοκρατίαν ἐν ᾗ πάντες ὡς τύραννον φοβοῦνται τὸν νόμον.

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ Θαλῆς τὴν μήτε πλουσίους ἄγαν μήτε πένητας ἔχουσαν πολίτας.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις[2] ἐν ᾗ τῶν ἄλλων ἴσων νομιζομένων ἀρετῇ τὸ βέλτιον ὁρίζεται, καὶ κακίᾳ[3] τὸ χεῖρον.

Πέμπτος δ' ὁ Κλεόβουλος ἔφη μάλιστα σωφρονεῖν δῆμον ὅπου τὸν ψόγον μᾶλλον οἱ πολιτευόμενοι δεδοίκασιν ἢ τὸν νόμον.

Ἕκτος δ' ὁ[4] Πιττακός, ὅπου τοῖς πονηροῖς οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἄρχειν καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οὐκ ἔξεστι μὴ ἄρχειν.

F Μεταστραφεὶς[5] δ' ὁ Χίλων ἀπεφήνατο τὴν

[1] ἔφη Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xliii. 131.
[2] Ἀνάχαρσις] Περίανδρος Stobaeus, xliii. 131.
[3] κακία (κακίᾳ Pflugk) δὲ Stobaeus, xliii. 131.
[4] δ' ὁ Bernardakis: δὲ.
[5] μεταστραφεὶς Hartman and F.C.B. independently: μετατραπεὶς, omitted by Stobaeus, *l.c.*

it should be general. Now in what has just been said dealing with dominion and kingdom, we who live under a popular government have no part. Therefore I think that at this time each of you ought to contribute an opinion on the subject of republican government, beginning again with Solon."

It was accordingly agreed to do this, and Solon began by saying, "But you, Mnesiphilus, as well as all the rest of the Athenians, have heard the opinion which I hold regarding government. However, if you wish to hear it again now, I think that a State succeeds best, and most effectively perpetuates democracy, in which persons uninjured by a crime, no less than the injured person, prosecute the criminal and get him punished."

Second was Bias, who said that the most excellent democracy was that in which the people stood in as much fear of the law as of a despot.

Following him Thales said that it was the one having citizens neither too rich nor too poor.

After him Anacharsis said that it was the one in which, all else being held in equal esteem, what is better is determined by virtue and what is worse by vice.

Fifth, Cleobulus said that a people was most righteous whose public men dreaded censure more than they dreaded the law.

Sixth, Pittacus said that it was where bad men are not allowed to hold office, and good men are not allowed to refuse it.

Chilon, turning to the other side,[a] declared that the

[a] Chilon, a rather strict Spartan (*cf.* 152 D *supra*), is impatient of opinions which suggest that the attitude of the people is more important than the law.

μάλιστα νόμων ἥκιστα δὲ ῥητόρων ἀκούουσαν πολιτείαν ἀρίστην εἶναι.

Τελευταῖος δὲ πάλιν ὁ Περίανδρος ἐπικρίνων ἔφη δοκεῖν αὐτῷ πάντας ἐπαινεῖν δημοκρατίαν τὴν ὁμοιοτάτην ἀριστοκρατίᾳ.

12. Τέλος δὲ καὶ τούτου τοῦ λόγου λαβόντος ἠξίουν ἐγὼ καὶ περὶ οἴκου ᾗ χρηστέον εἰπεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν· "βασιλείας μὲν γὰρ καὶ πόλεις ὀλίγοι κυβερνῶσιν, ἑστίας δὲ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν καὶ οἴκου μέτεστι."

Γελάσας οὖν ὁ Αἴσωπος, "οὔκ, εἴγε τῶν πάν-
155 των," ἔφη, "καὶ Ἀνάχαρσιν ἀριθμεῖς· τούτῳ γὰρ οἶκος οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνύνεται τῷ ἄοικος εἶναι, χρῆσθαι δ' ἁμάξῃ, καθάπερ τὸν ἥλιον ἐν ἅρματι λέγουσι περιπολεῖν, ἄλλοτ' ἄλλην ἐπινεμόμενον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ χώραν."

Καὶ ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, "διὰ τοῦτό τοι," εἶπεν, "ἢ μόνος ἢ μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν ἐλεύθερός ἐστι καὶ αὐτόνομος, καὶ κρατεῖ πάντων, κρατεῖται δ' ὑπ' οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύει καὶ ἡνιοχεῖ. πλὴν σέ γε τὸ ἅρμα λέληθεν αὐτοῦ, ὡς ὑπερφυὲς κάλλει καὶ
B μεγέθει θαυμάσιόν ἐστιν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν παίζων ἐπὶ γέλωτι παρέβαλες ἐκεῖνο τοῖς ἡμετέροις. οἶκον δέ μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Αἴσωπε, ταυτὶ τὰ πήλινα καὶ ξύλινα καὶ κεραμεᾶ στεγάσματα νομίζειν, ὥσπερ εἰ κοχλίαν ἡγοῖο τὸ κέλυφος, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ ζῷον. εἰκότως οὖν σοι γέλωτα παρέσχεν ὁ Σόλων, ὅτι τοῦ Κροίσου τὴν οἰκίαν κεκοσμημένην πολυτελῶς θεα-

best government is that which gives greatest heed to laws and least heed to those who talk about them.

Finally, Periander once more concluded the discussion with the decisive remark, that they all seemed to him to approve a democracy which was most like an aristocracy.

12. When this discussion had come to an end, I said that it seemed to me to be only fair that these men should tell us how a house should be managed. "For," said I, "but few persons are in control of kingdoms and states, whereas we all have to do with a hearth and home."

Aesop laughed and said, "Not all, if you include also Anacharsis in our number; for not only has he no home, but he takes an immense pride in being homeless and in using a wagon, after the manner in which they say the sun makes his rounds in a chariot, occupying now one place and now another in the heavens."

"And that, I would have you know," said Anacharsis, "is precisely the reason why he solely or pre-eminently of all the gods is free and independent, and rules over all and is ruled by none, but is king, and holds the reins. Only you seem to have no conception of his chariot, how surpassing it is in beauty, and wondrous in size; else you would not, even in jest, have humorously compared it to ours. It seems to me, Aesop, that your idea of a home is limited to these protective coverings made of mortar, wood, and tiles, just as if you were to regard a snail's shell, and not the creature itself, as a snail. Quite naturally, then, Solon gave you occasion to laugh, because, when he had looked over Croesus's house with its costly furnishings, he did not instantly

(155) σάμενος οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀπεφήνατο τὸν κεκτημένον εὐδαιμόνως οἰκεῖν καὶ μακαρίως, ἅτε δὴ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἀγαθῶν ἢ τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ βουλόμενος γενέσθαι θεατής· σὺ δ' ἔοικας οὐδὲ τῆς σεαυτοῦ μνημονεύειν ἀλώπεκος. ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἀγῶνα ποικιλίας καταστᾶσα πρὸς τὴν πάρδαλιν ἠξίου τὰ ἐντὸς αὑτῆς καταμαθεῖν τὸν δικαστήν,
C ποικιλωτέρα γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν φανεῖσθαι· σὺ δὲ τὰ τεκτόνων καὶ λιθοξόων ἔργα περινοστεῖς, οἶκον ἡγούμενος, οὐ τὰ ἐντὸς ἑκάστου καὶ οἰκεῖα, παῖδας καὶ γάμον καὶ φίλους καὶ θεράποντας, οἷς κἂν ἐν μυρμηκιᾷ τις ἢ νεοττιᾷ νοῦν ἔχουσι καὶ σωφρονοῦσι κοινωνῇ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, χρηστὸν οἶκον οἰκεῖ καὶ μακάριον. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς Αἴσωπον ἀποκρίνομαι καὶ Διοκλεῖ συμβάλλομαι· τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἕκαστος ἀποφαίνεσθαι δίκαιός ἐστι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην."

Τοῦτον οὖν ἄριστον ὁ Σόλων εἶπεν αὐτῷ δοκεῖν οἶκον,[1] ὅπου τὰ χρήματα[2] μήτε κτωμένοις ἀδικία
D μήτε φυλάττουσιν ἀπιστία μήτε δαπανῶσι μετάνοια πρόσεστιν.

Ὁ δὲ Βίας ἐν ᾧ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ δεσπότης δι' αὑτὸν οἷος ἔξω διὰ τὸν νόμον.

Ὁ δὲ Θαλῆς ἐν ᾧ πλείστην ἄγειν τῷ δεσπότῃ σχολὴν ἔξεστιν.

[1] τοῦτον . . . οἶκον Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, lxxxv. 14, and one MS.: οὕτως ὁ Σόλων ἄριστον αὐτῷ δοκεῖν οἶκον εἶπεν most MSS.
[2] χρήματα] κτήματα Stobaeus, *ibid.*, and one MS.

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[a] Herodotus, i. 30. Plutarch, *Life of Solon*, chap. xxviii. (p. 94 c), represents Aesop as being present on this occasion.
[b] No. 159 in the collection of fables that passes under the name of Aesop; repeated also by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 500 c.

declare that the owner led a happy and blessed existence therein, for the good reason that he wished to have a look at the good within Croesus rather than at his good surroundings.[a] But you, apparently, do not remember your own fox.[b] For the fox, having entered into a contest with the leopard to determine which was the more ingeniously coloured, insisted it was but fair that the judge should note carefully what was within her, for there she said she should show herself more ingenious. But you go about, inspecting the works of carpenters and stonemasons, and regarding them as a home, and not the inward and personal possessions of each man, his children, his partner in marriage, his friends, and servants; and though it be in an ant-hill or a bird's nest, yet if these are possessed of sense and discretion, and the head of the family shares with them all his worldly goods, he dwells in a goodly and a happy home. This then," said he, "is my answer to Aesop's insinuation, and my contribution to Diocles. And now it is but right that each of the others should disclose his own opinion."

Thereupon Solon said that the best home seemed to him to be where no injustice is attached to the acquisition of property, no distrust to keeping it, and no repentance to spending it.

Bias said, "It is the home in which the head of the household, because of his own self, maintains the same character that he maintains outside of it because of the law."

Thales said, "The home in which it is possible for the head of the household to have the greatest leisure."

(155) Ὁ δὲ Κλεόβουλος εἰ πλείονας ἔχοι τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτὸν τοὺς φιλοῦντας ὁ δεσπότης.

Ὁ δὲ Πιττακὸς εἶπεν ὡς ἄριστος οἶκός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν περιττῶν μηδενὸς δεόμενος[1] καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων μηδενὸς ἐνδεόμενος.

Ὁ δὲ Χίλων ἔφη δεῖν μάλιστα βασιλευομένῃ πόλει προσεοικέναι τὸν οἶκον. εἶτα προσεπεῖπεν ὅτι καὶ Λυκοῦργος πρὸς τὸν κελεύοντα δημο-
E κρατίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταστῆσαι, "πρῶτος,"[2] ἔφη, "ποίησον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου δημοκρατίαν."

13. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἔσχεν ὁ λόγος τέλος, ἡ μὲν Εὔμητις ἐξῆλθε μετὰ τῆς Μελίσσης, τοῦ δὲ Περιάνδρου τῷ Χίλωνι προπιόντος εὐμεγέθη κύλικα, τῷ δὲ Βίαντι τοῦ Χίλωνος, Ἄρδαλος ἐπαναστὰς καὶ προσαγορεύσας τὸν Αἴσωπον, "σὺ δ' οὐκ ἄν," ἔφη, "διαπέμψαιο δεῦρο τὸ ποτήριον πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὁρῶν τούτους ὥσπερ τὴν Βαθυκλέους κύλικα διαπεμπομένους ἀλλήλοις, ἑτέρῳ δὲ μὴ μεταδιδόντας;"

F Καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος, "ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτ'," ἔφη, "τὸ ποτήριον δημοτικόν ἐστι[3]· Σόλωνι γὰρ ἔκπαλαι παράκειται μόνῳ."

Τὸν οὖν Μνησίφιλον προσαγορεύσας ὁ Πιττακὸς ἠρώτησε τί οὐ πίνει Σόλων ἀλλὰ καταμαρτυρεῖ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐν οἷς γέγραφεν,

[1] μηδενὸς δεόμενος Stobaeus, *ibid.*, not in MSS.
[2] πρῶτος] πρῶτον Stobaeus.
[3] ἐστι F.C.B.: εἶναι (probably due to ἔφη).

Cleobulus said, "If the head of the household have more who love him than fear him."

Pittacus said that the best home is that which needs nothing superfluous, and lacks nothing necessary.

Chilon said that the home ought to be most like to a State ruled by a king; and then he added that Lycurgus said to the man who urged him to establish a democracy in the State, "Do you first create a democracy in your own house."[a]

13. When this discussion had come to its end, Eumetis withdrew, accompanied by Melissa. Then Periander drank to Chilon in a big beaker, and Chilon did the same to Bias, whereupon Ardalus arose, and addressing himself to Aesop, said, "Won't you send the cup over here to us, seeing that these people are sending it to and fro to one another as though it were the beaker of Bathycles,[b] and are not giving anybody else a chance at it?"

And Aesop said, "But this cup is not democratic either, since it has been resting all the time by Solon only."

Thereupon Pittacus, addressing Mnesiphilus, asked why Solon did not drink, but by his testimony was discrediting the verses in which he had written[c]

[a] Repeated in *Moralia*, 189 E, 228 D, and *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xix. (p. 52 A).

[b] Bathycles in his will left his beaker to the most helpful of the wise men. It was given to Thales, and he passed it on to another of the wise men, who in turn gave it to another until finally it came back to Thales again, and he dedicated it to Apollo. *Cf.* Diogenes Laertius, i. 28, and Plutarch, *Life of Solon*, chap. iv. (p. 80 E).

[c] Plutarch quotes these lines also in *Moralia*, 751 E, and *Life of Solon*, chap. xxxi. (p. 96 E); *cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* ii. p. 430, Solon, No. 26.

ἔργα δὲ Κυπρογενοῦς νῦν μοι φίλα καὶ Διονύσου
καὶ Μουσέων, ἃ τίθησ' ἀνδράσιν εὐφροσύνας.

Ὑποφθάσας δ' Ἀνάχαρσις "σὲ γάρ, ὦ Πιττακέ, καὶ τὸν σὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν χαλεπὸν φοβεῖται νόμον, ἐν ᾧ γέγραφας Ἐάν τις ὁτιοῦν μεθύων ἁμάρτῃ, διπλασίαν ἢ τῷ νήφοντι τὴν ζημίαν εἶναι."

Καὶ ὁ Πιττακός, "σὺ δέ γ'," εἶπεν, "οὕτως ἐξύβρισας εἰς τὸν νόμον, ὥστε πέρυσι παρ' Ἀλκαίου[1] ἀδελφῷ μεθυσθεὶς[2] ἆθλον αἰτεῖν καὶ στέφανον."

156 "Τί δ' οὐκ ἔμελλον," ἔφη ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, "τῷ πλεῖστον πιόντι προκειμένων ἄθλων πρῶτος μεθυσθεὶς ἀπαιτεῖν τὸ νικητήριον; ἢ διδάξατέ μ' ὑμεῖς, τί τέλος ἐστὶ τοῦ πολὺν πιεῖν ἄκρατον ἢ τὸ μεθυσθῆναι."

Τοῦ δὲ Πιττακοῦ γελάσαντος ὁ Αἴσωπος λόγον εἶπε τοιοῦτον· "λύκος ἰδὼν ποιμένας ἐσθίοντας ἐν σκηνῇ πρόβατον ἐγγὺς προσελθών, 'ἡλίκος ἂν ἦν,' ἔφη, 'θόρυβος ὑμῖν, εἰ ἐγὼ τοῦτ' ἐποίουν.'"

Καὶ ὁ Χίλων "ὀρθῶς," ἔφη, "Αἴσωπος ἠμύνατο, μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἐπιστομισθεὶς ὑφ' ἡμῶν, εἶτα νῦν ὁρῶν ἑτέρους τὸν Μνησιφίλου λόγον ὑφηρπακότας· Μνησίφιλος γὰρ ἠτήθη τὴν ὑπὲρ Σόλωνος ἀπόκρισιν."

B "Καὶ λέγω,[3]" ὁ Μνησίφιλος εἶπεν, "εἰδὼς ὅτι

[1] παρ' Ἀλκαίου E. Capps; παρὰ Διβουτάδῃ Δελφῷ Madvig: παρὰ Λάβυι τῷ Δελφῷ the last guess of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff: the MSS. have παρὰ Λίβυτ' or παρὰ Λίβυι τ' or παρὰ Λίβυι τῷ or γὰρ καὶ νυνὶ om. ἀδελφῷ. Athenaeus, 437 F, unluckily does not help.

[2] πρῶτος μεθυσθεὶς is strongly suggested by Athenaeus, 437 F.

[3] λέγω Wyttenbach: λέγων.

Give me the tasks of the Cyprus-born goddess and Lord Dionysus,
Yea, and the Muses besides; tasks which bring cheer among men.

Before the other could reply Anacharsis hastened to say, "He is afraid of you, Pittacus, and that harsh law of yours in which you have decreed, 'If any man commit any offence when drunk, his penalty shall be double that prescribed for the sober.'"[a]

And Pittacus said, "But you at any rate showed such insolent disregard for the law, that last year, at the house of Alcaeus's brother, you were the first to get drunk and you demanded as a prize a wreath of victory."[b]

"And why not?" said Anacharsis. "Prizes were offered for the man who drank the most, and I was the first to get drunk; why should I not have demanded the reward of my victory? Else do you instruct me as to what is the aim in drinking much strong wine other than to get drunk."

When Pittacus laughed at this, Aesop told the following story: "A wolf seeing some shepherds in a shelter eating a sheep, came near to them and said, 'What an uproar you would make if I were doing that!'"

"Aesop," said Chilon, "has very properly defended himself, for a few moments ago[c] he had his mouth stopped by us, and now, later, he sees that others have taken the words out of Mnesiphilus's mouth; for it was Mnesiphilus who was asked for a rejoinder in defence of Solon."

"And I speak," said Mnesiphilus, "with full

[a] Pittacus's law is often referred to; for example, Aristotle, *Politics*, ii. 12, 13; *Nicomachean Ethics*, iii. 5, 8.
[b] *Cf.* Athenaeus, 437 f.
[c] *Supra*, 150 B.

156) Σόλωνι δοκεῖ πάσης τέχνης καὶ δυνάμεως ἀνθρωπίνης τε καὶ θείας ἔργον εἶναι τὸ γιγνόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ δι' οὗ γίγνεται, καὶ τὸ τέλος ἢ τὰ πρὸς τὸ τέλος. ὑφάντης τε γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι χλαμύδα ποιήσαιτο[1] μᾶλλον ἔργον αὑτοῦ καὶ ἱμάτιον ἢ κανόνων διάθεσιν καὶ ἀνάρτησιν[2] ἀγνύθων, χαλκεύς τε κόλλησιν σιδήρου καὶ στόμωσιν πελέκεως μᾶλλον ἤ τι τῶν ἕνεκα τούτου γιγνομένων ἀναγκαίων, οἷον ἀνθράκων ἐκζωπύρησιν ἢ λατύπης παρασκευήν. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἀρχιτέκτων μέμψαιτ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ἔργον αὑτοῦ μὴ ναὸν[3] μηδ' οἰκίαν ἀπο-
C φαίνοντας, ἀλλὰ τρυπῆσαι ξύλα καὶ φυρᾶσαι πηλόν· αἱ δὲ Μοῦσαι καὶ παντάπασιν, εἰ νομίζοιμεν αὐτῶν ἔργον εἶναι κιθάραν καὶ αὐλούς, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ παιδεύειν τὰ ἤθη καὶ παρηγορεῖν τὰ πάθη τῶν χρωμένων μέλεσι καὶ ἁρμονίαις. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔργον ἐστὶ συνουσία καὶ μεῖξις, οὐδὲ τοῦ Διονύσου μέθη καὶ οἶνος, ἀλλ' ἣν ἐμποιοῦσι διὰ τούτων φιλοφροσύνην καὶ πόθον καὶ ὁμιλίαν ἡμῖν καὶ συνήθειαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔργα θεῖα καλεῖ Σόλων, καὶ ταῦτά φησιν ἀγαπᾶν καὶ διώκειν μάλιστα πρεσβύτης γενόμενος. ἔστι δὲ τῆς μὲν πρὸς γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ὁμοφροσύνης
D καὶ φιλίας δημιουργὸς ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, τοῖς σώμασιν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἅμα συμμιγνύουσα καὶ συντήκουσα τὰς ψυχάς· τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς καὶ μὴ πάνυ συνήθεσι μηδ' ἄγαν γνωρίμοις ὁ Διόνυσος ὥσπερ ἐν πυρὶ τῷ οἴνῳ μαλάττων τὰ ἤθη καὶ ἀνυγραίνων ἀρ-

[1] ποιήσαιτο Wyttenbach: ποιήσαι.
[2] ἀνάρτησιν Bernardakis: ἀνέγερσιν.
[3] ναὸν Hatzidakis: ναῦν.

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 769 A.

knowledge that it is Solon's opinion that the task of every art and faculty, both human and divine, is the thing that is produced rather than the means employed in its production, and the end itself rather than the means that contribute to that end. For a weaver, I imagine, would hold that his task was a cloak or a mantle rather than the arrangement of shuttle-rods or the hanging of loom weights; and so a smith would regard the welding of iron or the tempering of an axe rather than any one of the things that have to be done for this purpose, such as blowing up the fire or getting ready a flux. Even more would an architect find fault with us, if we should declare that his task is not a temple or a house, but to bore timbers and mix mortar. And the Muses would most assuredly feel aggrieved, if we should regard as their task a lyre or flutes, and not the development of the characters and the soothing of the emotions of those who make use of songs and melodies. And so again the task of Aphrodite is not carnal intercourse, nor is that of Dionysus strong drink and wine, but rather the friendly feeling, the longing, the association, and the intimacy, one with another, which they create in us through these agencies. These are what Solon calls 'tasks divine,' and these he says he loves and pursues above all else, now that he has become an old man. And Aphrodite is the artisan who creates concord and friendship between men and women, for through their bodies, under the influence of pleasure, she at the same time unites and welds together their souls.[a] And in the case of the majority of people, who are not altogether intimate or too well known to one another, Dionysus softens and relaxes their characters with wine, as in

(156) χήν τινα συγκράσεως πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ φιλίας ἐνδίδωσιν. ὅταν δὲ τοιοῦτοι συνέλθωσιν ἄνδρες, οἵους ὁ Περίανδρος ὑμᾶς παρακέκληκεν, οὐδὲν ἔργον ἐστὶν οἶμαι κύλικος οὐδ' οἰνοχόης, ἀλλ' αἱ Μοῦσαι καθάπερ κρατῆρα νηφάλιον ἐν μέσῳ προθέμεναι τὸν λόγον, ᾧ πλεῖστον ἡδονῆς ἅμα καὶ παιδιᾶς καὶ σπουδῆς ἔνεστιν, ἐγείρουσι τούτῳ καὶ κατάρδουσι καὶ διαχέουσι τὴν φιλοφροσύνην,
E ἐῶσαι τὰ πολλὰ τὴν 'οἰνοχόην' ἀτρέμα κεῖσθαι 'κρητῆρος[1] ὕπερθεν,' ὅπερ ἀπηγόρευσεν Ἡσίοδος ἐν τοῖς πίνειν μᾶλλον ἢ διαλέγεσθαι δυναμένοις.[2] ἐπεὶ τάς γε[3] προπόσεις αὐτάς," ἔφη, "πυνθάνομαι λείπειν[4] τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ἓν 'δαιτρόν,'[5] ὡς Ὅμηρος ἔφη, καὶ μετρητὸν ἑκάστου πίνοντος, εἶθ' ὥσπερ Αἴας μερίδος μεταδιδόντος τῷ πλησίον."

Εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Μνησιφίλου Χερσίας ὁ
F ποιητής (ἀφεῖτο γὰρ ἤδη τῆς αἰτίας καὶ διήλλακτο τῷ Περιάνδρῳ νεωστί, Χίλωνος δεηθέντος) "ἆρ' οὖν," ἔφη, "καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ὁ Ζεύς, ὥσπερ τοῖς ἀριστεῦσιν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, μετρητὸν ἐνέχει τὸ ποτόν, ὅτε[6] προέπινον ἀλλήλοις ἑστιώμενοι παρ' αὐτῷ;"

Καὶ ὁ Κλεόδωρος, "σὺ δ', ὦ Χερσία," εἶπεν, "εἰ τὴν ἀμβροσίαν τῷ Διὶ πελειάδες τινὲς κομίζουσιν, ὡς ὑμεῖς λέγετε, τὰς Πλαγκτὰς ὑπερ-

[1] κρητῆρος Hesiod: κρατῆρος.
[2] After δυναμένοις some mss. have a quotation from Homer, *Il.* iv. 261-3, ending with ἕστηκεν (263).
[3] γε Reiske: τε.
[4] λείπειν F.C.B.: λέγειν.
[5] ἓν F.C.B., δαιτρόν Meziriacus, suggested perhaps by Amyot's version: ἔνδεινον.
[6] ὅτε Meziriacus: ὅτι.

[a] *Works and Days*, 744.
[b] Homer, *Il.* iv. 262.
[c] Plutarch seems to have made a natural slip in referring

a fire, and so provides some means for beginning a union and friendship with one another. However, when such men as you, whom Periander has invited here, come together, I think there is nothing for the wine-cup or ladle to accomplish, but the Muses set discourse in the midst before all, a non-intoxicating bowl as it were, containing a maximum of pleasure in jest and seriousness combined; and with this they awaken and foster and dispense friendliness, allowing the 'ladle,' for the most part, to lie untouched 'atop of the bowl'—a thing which Hesiod[a] would prohibit in a company of men better able to drink than to converse. As a matter of fact," he continued, "as nearly as I can make out, among the men of olden time the practice of drinking healths was not in vogue, since each man drank one 'goblet,' as Homer[b] has said, that is a measured quantity, and later, like Ajax,[c] shared a portion with his neighbour."

When Mnesiphilus had said this, Chersias the poet[d] (having been already absolved from the charge against him, and recently reconciled with Periander at Chilon's solicitation) said, "Is it to be inferred, then, that Zeus used to pour out the drink for the gods also in measured quantity, as Agamemnon did for his nobles, when the gods, dining with Zeus, drank to one another?"

And Cleodorus said, "But, Chersias, if certain doves[e] bring to Zeus his ambrosia, as you poets say, and with

this to Ajax, when, in fact, Homer records this of Odysseus (*Od.* viii. 475); Ajax, of course, was the great eater, as witness *Il.* vii. 321, where Agamemnon favours Ajax with the sirloin and tenderloin entire. *Cf.* also Athenaeus, 14 a.

[d] From Orchomenos in Boeotia; he is known only from this essay and Pausanias, ix. 38, 9-10, where two lines of his (?) are quoted.

[e] Homer, *Od.* xii. 62.

πετόμεναι χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις, οὐ νομίζεις καὶ τὸ νέκταρ αὐτῷ δυσπόριστον εἶναι καὶ σπάνιον,
157 ὥστε φείδεσθαι καὶ παρέχειν ἑκάστῳ τεταμιευμένον;"

14. "Ἴσως," εἶπεν ὁ Χερσίας· "ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πάλιν οἰκονομίας λόγος γέγονε, τίς ἂν ὑμῶν φράσειεν ἡμῖν τὸ ἀπολειπόμενον; ἀπολείπεται δ' οἶμαι κτήσεώς τι λαβεῖν μέτρον αὐτάρκους καὶ ἱκανῆς ἐσομένης."

Καὶ ὁ Κλεόβουλος, "ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν σοφοῖς," ἔφη, "μέτρον ὁ νόμος δέδωκε, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς φαύλους ἐρῶ λόγον τῆς ἐμῆς θυγατρὸς ὃν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἶπεν. ἔφη γὰρ τὴν Σελήνην δεῖσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῆς μητρὸς ὅπως αὐτῇ χιτώνιον ὑφήνῃ
B σύμμετρον· τὴν δ' εἰπεῖν 'καὶ πῶς σύμμετρον ὑφήνω; νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὁρῶ σε πανσέληνον, αὖθις δὲ μηνοειδῆ, τοτὲ δ' ἀμφίκυρτον.' οὕτω δή, ὦ φίλε Χερσία, καὶ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἀνόητον καὶ φαῦλον οὐδέν ἐστι μέτρον οὐσίας· ἄλλοτε γὰρ ἄλλος ἐστὶ ταῖς χρείαις διὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τὰς τύχας, ὥσπερ ὁ Αἰσώπου κύων, ὃν οὑτοσί φησιν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι συστρεφόμενον καὶ συσπειρώμενον διὰ τὸ ῥιγοῦν οἰκίαν ποιεῖν διανοεῖσθαι, θέρους δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐκτεταμένον καθεύδοντα φαίνεσθαι μέγαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ μήτ' ἀναγκαῖον ἡγεῖσθαι μήτε μικρὸν ἔργον οἰκίαν περιβαλέσθαι τοσαύτην. ἦ γὰρ οὐχ ὁρᾷς," εἶπεν, "ὦ Χερσία, καὶ τοὺς
C μιαροὺς[1] νῦν μὲν εἰς μικρὰ κομιδῇ συστέλλοντας

[1] μιαροὺς F.C.B.: μικρούς.

great difficulty hardly manage to fly over the 'clashing rocks,' do you not believe that his nectar is hard for him to get and scarce, so that he is sparing of it, and doles it out charily to each god ?"

14. "Possibly," said Chersias, "but since talk of household management has come up again, who among you will tell us about what was omitted ? The topic omitted was, I think, the acquisition of some measure of property which shall be sufficient in itself and adequate."

"But," said Cleobulus, "for the wise the law has given the measure, but with reference to those of the baser sort I will tell a story of my daughter's which she told her brother. She said that the moon wanted her mother to weave for her a garment to fit her measure ; and the mother said, 'How can I weave it to fit your measure ? For now I see you full and round, and at another time crescent-shaped, and at still another but little more than half your full size.' And in the same way you see, my dear Chersias, there is no measure of possessions that can be applied to a foolish and worthless man. Sometimes he is one man and sometimes another in his needs, which vary according to his desires and fortunes ; he is like Aesop's dog, who, as our friend here says, in the winter-time curled up as closely as possible because he was so cold, and was minded to build himself a house, but when summer returned again, and he had stretched himself out to sleep, he appeared to himself so big that he thought it was neither a necessary nor a small task to construct a house large enough to contain him. Have you not often noticed also, Chersias," he continued, "those detestable people who at one time restrict themselves to utterly small

(157) ἑαυτοὺς ὡς στρογγύλως καὶ Λακωνικῶς βιωσομένους, νῦν δέ, εἰ μὴ τὰ πάντων ἔχουσιν ἰδιωτῶν ἅμα καὶ βασιλέων, ὑπ' ἐνδείας ἀπολεῖσθαι νομίζοντας;"

Ὡς οὖν ὁ Χερσίας ἀπεσιώπησεν, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Κλεόδωρος, "ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς σοφούς," εἶπεν, "ὑμᾶς ὁρῶμεν ἀνίσοις μέτροις τὰς κτήσεις νενεμημένας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχοντας."

Καὶ ὁ Κλεόβουλος, "ὁ γάρ τοι νόμος," εἶπεν, "ὦ βέλτιστε ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ὑφάντης ἑκάστῳ τὸ πρέπον ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ μέτριον καὶ τὸ ἁρμόττον D ἀποδίδωσι. καὶ σὺ καθάπερ τῷ νόμῳ τῷ λόγῳ τρέφων καὶ διαιτῶν καὶ φαρμακεύων τοὺς κάμνοντας οὐκ ἴσον ἑκάστῳ, τὸ δὲ προσῆκον ἀπονέμεις ἅπασιν."

Ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὁ Ἄρδαλος, "ἆρ' οὖν," ἔφη, "καὶ τὸν ἑταῖρον ὑμῶν Σόλωνος δὲ ξένον Ἐπιμενίδην νόμος τις ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων σιτίων κελεύει, τῆς δ' ἀλίμου δυνάμεως ἣν αὐτὸς συντίθησι μικρὸν εἰς τὸ στόμα λαμβάνοντα διημερεύειν ἀνάριστον καὶ ἄδειπνον;"

Ἐπιστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸ συμπόσιον ὁ μὲν Θαλῆς ἐπισκώπτων εὖ φρονεῖν ἔφη τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην ὅτι μὴ βούλεται πράγματα ἔχειν ἀλῶν τὰ σιτία καὶ πέττων ἑαυτῷ, καθάπερ E Πιττακός. "ἐγὼ γάρ," εἶπε, "τῆς ξένης ἤκουον ᾀδούσης πρὸς τὴν μύλην, ἐν Ἐρέσῳ γενόμενος,

ἄλει, μύλα, ἄλει·
καὶ γὰρ Πιττακὸς ἄλει
μεγάλας Μυτιλάνας βασιλεύων."

[a] A recipe (probably forged) for making this compound

limits as though they purposed to live the simple Spartan life, and at another time they think that, unless they have everything possessed by all private persons and kings as well, they shall die of want ?"

As Chersias lapsed into silence, Cleodorus took up the conversation and said, "But we see that the possessions which even you wise men have are distributed by unequal measure, if you be compared one with another."

And Cleobulus said, "Yes, for the law, my good sir, like a weaver, assigns to each one of us so much as is fitting, reasonable, and suitable. And you, using reason as your law in prescribing diet, regimen, and drugs for the sick, do not apportion an equal amount to each one, but the proper amount in all cases."

Ardalus then joined in and said, "Well, then, is there some law which commands that comrade of all of you, Solon's foreign friend, Epimenides, to abstain from all other kinds of food, and by taking into his mouth a bit of the potent 'no-hunger,'[a] which he himself compounds, to go all day without luncheon and dinner ?"

This remark arrested the attention of the whole company, and Thales said jestingly that Epimenides showed good sense in not wishing to have the trouble of grinding his grain and cooking for himself like Pittacus. "For," said he, "when I was at Eresus, I heard the woman at whose house I stayed singing at the mill :

> Grind, mill, grind ;
> Yes, for Pittacus used to grind
> King of great Mytilene."[b]

may be found in Tzetzes' scholium on Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 41.

[b] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 673.

Ὁ δὲ Σόλων ἔφη θαυμάζειν τὸν Ἄρδαλον εἰ τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀνέγνωκε τῆς διαίτης τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖς Ἡσιόδου γεγραμμένον· ἐκεῖνος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ πρῶτος Ἐπιμενίδῃ σπέρματα τῆς τροφῆς ταύτης παρασχὼν καὶ ζητεῖν ὁ διδάξας

F ὅσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἀσφοδέλῳ μέγ' ὄνειαρ.

"Οἴει γάρ," ὁ Περίανδρος εἶπε, "τὸν Ἡσίοδον ἐννοῆσαί τι τοιοῦτον; οὐκ ἐπαινέτην ὄντα φειδοῦς ἀεί, καὶ πρὸς τὰ λιτότατα τῶν ὄψων ὡς ἥδιστα παρακαλεῖν ἡμᾶς; ἀγαθὴ μὲν γὰρ ἡ μαλάχη βρωθῆναι, γλυκὺς δ' ὁ ἀνθέρικος· τὰ δ' ἄλιμα ταῦτα καὶ ἄδιψα φάρμακα μᾶλλον ἢ σιτία πυνθάνομαι καὶ μέλι καὶ τυρόν τινα βαρβαρικὸν δέχεσθαι καὶ σπέρματα πάμπολλα τῶν οὐκ εὐποριστων. πῶς οὖν ἐῶμεν[1] Ἡσιόδῳ τὸ

πηδάλιον μὲν[2] ὑπὲρ καπνοῦ

κείμενον

ἔργα βοῶν δ' ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἡμιόνων ταλαεργῶν,

εἰ τοσαύτης δεήσει παρασκευῆς; θαυμάζω δέ
158 σου τὸν ξένον, ὦ Σόλων, εἰ Δηλίοις ἔναγχος ποιησάμενος τὸν μέγαν καθαρμὸν οὐχ ἱστόρησε παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κομιζόμενα τῆς πρώτης ὑπομνήματα τροφῆς καὶ δείγματα μετ' ἄλλων

[1] ἐῶμεν F.C.B. of many possible emendations; Pohlenz suggests οὐ κενὸν, and <καὶ τὸ> after κείμενον : οὐκ ἐν.
[2] μὲν Hesiod: not in MSS.

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[a] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 41.
[b] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 45, 46; quoted also in *Moralia*, 527 B. *Cf.* also Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 629.

Solon said that he was surprised at Ardalus if he had not read the regulations governing the manner of living of the man in question, which are given in writing in Hesiod's verses. For Hesiod is the one who first sowed in the mind of Epimenides the seeds of this form of nourishment, inasmuch as it was he who taught that one should seek to find

How in mallow and asphodel lies an immense advantage.[a]

"Do you really think," said Periander, "that Hesiod ever had any such idea in mind? Do you not rather think that, since he was always sounding the praises of frugality, he was also summoning us to the simplest of dishes as being the most pleasant? For the mallow is good eating, and the stalk of the asphodel is luscious; but these no-hunger and no-thirst drugs (for they are drugs rather than foods), I understand, include in their composition a sweet gum and a cheese found among barbarian peoples, and a great many seeds of a sort hard to procure. How, then, can we concede to Hesiod his

Rudder on high in the smoke[b]

suspended, and

All the labours of oxen and stout-toiling mules be abolished,[b]

if there is to be need of all this preparation? I am surprised at your friend from abroad, Solon, if, when he was recently carrying out his great purification for the people of Delos,[c] he did not note the memorials and examples of the earliest forms of food being brought into the temple there, including, among other

[c] Does Plutarch connect Epimenides with the purification of Delos by Peisistratus (Herodotus, i. 67; Thucydides iii. 107)?

(158) εὐτελῶν καὶ αὐτοφυῶν μαλάχην καὶ ἀνθέρικον, ὧν εἰκός ἐστι καὶ τὸν Ἡσίοδον προξενεῖν ἡμῖν τὴν λιτότητα καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν."

"Οὐ ταῦτ'," ἔφη, "μόνον," ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, "ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν λαχάνων ἑκάτερον ἐπαινεῖται."

Καὶ ὁ Κλεόδωρος "ὀρθῶς," ἔφη, "λέγεις. ἰατρικὸς γὰρ Ἡσίοδος, ὡς[1] δῆλός ἐστιν οὐκ
B ἀμελῶς οὐδ' ἀπείρως περὶ διαίτης καὶ κράσεως οἴνου καὶ ἀρετῆς ὕδατος καὶ λουτροῦ καὶ γυναικῶν διαλεγόμενος καὶ συνουσίας καιροῦ καὶ βρεφῶν καθίσεως. ἀλλ' Ἡσιόδου μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ δικαιότερον Αἴσωπος αὑτὸν ἀποφαίνειν μαθητὴν ἢ Ἐπιμενίδης· τούτῳ γὰρ ἀρχὴν τῆς καλῆς ταύτης καὶ ποικίλης καὶ πολυγλώσσου σοφίας ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἀηδόνα λόγος τοῦ ἱέρακος παρέσχηκεν. ἐγὼ δ' ἂν ἡδέως ἀκούσαιμι Σόλωνος· εἰκὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν πεπύσθαι, πολὺν χρόνον Ἀθήνησιν Ἐπιμενίδῃ συγγενόμενον, ὅ τι δὴ παθὼν ἢ σοφιζόμενος ἐπὶ τοιαύτην ἦλθε δίαιταν."

15. Καὶ ὁ Σόλων ἔφη "τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνον
C ἐρωτᾶν ἔδει; δῆλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κρατίστου δεύτερόν ἐστι τὸ δεῖσθαι τροφῆς βραχυτάτης. ἢ τὸ μέγιστον οὐ δοκεῖ τὸ μηδ' ὅλως τροφῆς δεῖσθαι;"

"Οὐδαμῶς," ὁ Κλεόδωρος, "ἔμοιγ'," εἶπεν, "εἰ δεῖ τὸ φαινόμενον εἰπεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα παρα-

[1] ὡς] ὧν Reiske: ὃς some MSS.

[a] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 405-821.
[b] *Ibid.* 368-9; 744-5 may be referred to.
[c] *Ibid.* 595, 737-741.
[d] *Ibid.* 736-741, 753.
[e] *Ibid.* 373-5, 699-705.
[f] *Ibid.* 735-6, 812.

inexpensive and self-propagated foods, mallow and asphodel, whose plainness and simplicity it is most likely that Hesiod recommends to us."

"Not merely that," said Anacharsis, "but both are commended as herbs that contribute to health also in greatest measure."

"You are quite right," said Cleodorus; "for it is clear that Hesiod has knowledge of medicine, since there is no lack of attention or experience shown in what he has to say about the daily course of life,[a] mixing wine,[b] the great value of water,[c] bathing,[d] women,[e] the proper time for intercourse,[f] and the way in which infants should sit.[g] But it seems to me that Aesop with better right than Epimenides can declare himself the pupil of Hesiod. For the words of the hawk to the nightingale[h] first suggested to Aesop the idea of this beautiful and ingenious wisdom uttered by many different tongues. But I should be glad to listen to Solon; for it is likely that he, having been associated with Epimenides for a long time at Athens,[i] has learned what experience of his or what sophistical argument induced him to resort to such a course of living."

15. Solon said, "What need was there to ask him this? For it is plain that the next best thing to the greatest and highest of all good is to require the minimum amount of food; or is it not the general opinion that the greatest good is to require no food at all?"[j]

"Not mine by any means," said Cleodorus, "if I must tell what lies in my mind, especially as a table

[g] *Ibid.* 750-2. [h] *Ibid.* 203.

[i] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Solon*, chap. xii. (p. 84 c).

[j] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, i. 6. 10.

(158) κειμένης τραπέζης, ἣν ἀναιροῦσιν αἰρομένης τροφῆς φιλίων θεῶν βωμὸν οὖσαν καὶ ξενίων. ὡς δὲ Θαλῆς λέγει τῆς γῆς ἀναιρεθείσης σύγχυσιν τὸν ὅλον ἕξειν κόσμον, οὕτως οἴκου διάλυσις[1] ἐστι· συναναιρεῖται γὰρ αὐτῇ πῦρ ἑστιοῦχον ἑστία κρατῆρες ὑποδοχαὶ ξενισμοί, φιλανθρωπότατα καὶ πρῶτα κοινωνήματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μᾶλλον δὲ
D σύμπας ὁ βίος, εἴ γε[2] διαγωγή τίς ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου πράξεων ἔχουσα διέξοδον, ὧν ἡ τῆς τροφῆς χρεία καὶ παρασκευὴ τὰς πλείστας παρακαλεῖ. δεινὸν μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἑταῖρε, καὶ τὸ γεωργίας αὐτῆς[3]· διολλυμένη γὰρ αὖθις ἀπολείπει γῆν ἡμῖν ἄμορφον καὶ ἀκάθαρτον, ὕλης ἀκάρπου καὶ ῥευμάτων πλημμελῶς φερομένων ὑπ' ἀργίας ἀνάπλεων. συναπόλλυσι δὲ καὶ τέχνας πάσας καὶ ἐργασίας, ὧν ἔξαρχός ἐστι καὶ παρέχει βάσιν πάσαις καὶ ὕλην, καὶ τὸ
E μηδέν εἰσι, ταύτης ἐκποδὼν γενομένης. καταλύονται δὲ[4] καὶ τιμαὶ θεῶν, Ἡλίῳ μὲν[5] μικράν, ἔτι δ' ἐλάττω Σελήνῃ χάριν αὐγῆς μόνον καὶ ἀλέας ἀνθρώπων ἐχόντων. ὀμβρίῳ δὲ Διὶ καὶ προηροσίᾳ Δήμητρι καὶ φυταλμίῳ Ποσειδῶνι ποῦ βωμός ἐστι, ποῦ δὲ θυσία; πῶς δὲ χαριδότης ὁ Διόνυσος, εἰ δεησόμεθα μηδενὸς ὧν δίδωσι; τί δὲ θύσομεν ἢ σπείσομεν; τίνος δ' ἀπαρξόμεθα; πάντα γὰρ

[1] Reiske would insert ἡ τροφῆς ἀναίρεσις after διάλυσις.
[2] εἴ γε Xylander: εἴ τε.
[3] αὐτῆς P. Petavius, Tucker, Hartman, and F.C.B., all independently!: αὐτῇ.
[4] δὲ added by Meziriacus. [5] μὲν idem: δὲ.

[a] A Stoic definition; *cf.* Porphyry quoted by Stobaeus, *Eclogae ethicae*, ii. p. 201 (272), vol. ii. p. 140 of Meineke's edition.

stands here now, which they do away with when food is done away with, and it is an altar of the gods of friendship and hospitality. And as Thales says that, if the earth be done away with, confusion will possess the universe, so this is the dissolution of the household. For when the table is done away with, there go with it all these other things: the altar fire on the hearth, the hearth itself, wine-bowls, all entertainment and hospitality,—the most humane and the first acts of communion between man and man; rather is all real living abolished, if so be that living is a spending of time by man which involves carrying on a series of activities,[a] most of which are called for by the need of food and its procurement. And a dreadful situation ensues, my friend, regarding agriculture itself. For let agriculture be destroyed, and it leaves us our earth again unsightly and unclean, filled with unfruitful forests and with streams sweeping on unchecked, all owing to man's inaction. And with the destruction of agriculture goes also the destruction of all arts and crafts which she initiates, and for which she supplies the basis and the material; and these all come to naught if she vanishes from the earth. Abolished too are the honours paid to the gods, since men will have but little gratitude to the Sun, and still less to the Moon, for merely light and warmth. Where will there be an altar or where a sacrifice offered to Zeus who sends the rain, or to Demeter who initiates the ploughing, or to Poseidon who watches over the tender crops? How shall Dionysus be the giver of delights, if we shall require none of the gifts which he gives? What shall we offer as a sacrifice or libation, and what shall we dedicate as first-fruits? All this means the over-

ταῦτα τῶν μεγίστων ἀνατροπὴν καὶ σύγχυσιν ἔχει πραγμάτων. ἡδονῆς δὲ πάσης μὲν περιέχεσθαι καὶ πάντως ἀλόγιστόν ἐστι, πᾶσαν δὲ φεύγειν καὶ πάντως ἀναίσθητον. τὴν μὲν οὖν ψυχὴν ἑτέραις
F τισὶν ἡδοναῖς χρῆσθαι κρείττοσιν ὑπαρχέτω, τῷ δὲ σώματι λαβεῖν ἡδονὴν τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ τρέφεσθαι δικαιοτέραν οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν, ὅπερ οὐδένα λέληθεν ἀνθρώπων· ταύτην[1] γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ θέμενοι κοινωνοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις δείπνων καὶ τραπέζης, ἀφροδισίων δὲ νύκτα[2] καὶ πολὺ προβάλλονται σκότος, ἡγούμενοι ταύτης τὸ κοινωνεῖν ἀναίσχυντον εἶναι καὶ θηριῶδες, ὡς τὸ μὴ κοινωνεῖν ἐκείνης."

Ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ἐγὼ τοῦ Κλεοδώρου διαλιπόντος, "ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐ λέγεις," εἶπον, "ὅτι καὶ τὸν ὕπνον ἅμα τῇ τροφῇ συνεκβάλλομεν· ὕπνου δὲ μὴ ὄντος
159 οὐδ' ὄνειρός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἴχεται τὸ πρεσβύτατον ἡμῖν μαντεῖον. ἔσται δὲ μονοειδὴς ὁ βίος καὶ τρόπον τινὰ μάτην τὸ σῶμα περικείσεται τῇ ψυχῇ· τὰ πλεῖστα γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ κυριώτατα τῶν μερῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τροφὴν ὄργανα παρεσκεύασται, γλῶττα καὶ ὀδόντες καὶ στόμαχος καὶ ἧπαρ. ἀργὸν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄλλην συντεταγμένον χρείαν· ὥσθ' ὁ μὴ δεόμενος τροφῆς οὐδὲ σώματος δεῖται. τοῦτο δ' ἦν αὖ τὸ[3] αὑτοῦ μὴ δεῖσθαι· σὺν σώματι γὰρ ἡμῶν ἕκαστος. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν," ἔφην ἐγώ, "ταύτας τῇ γαστρὶ συμβολὰς εἰσφέρομεν· εἰ δὲ Σόλων ἤ τις ἄλλος τι κατηγορεῖ, ἀκουσόμεθα."

[1] ταύτην Turnebus and Vulcobius: ἥν.
[2] δὲ νύκτα Xylander: δεκτά.
[3] ἦν αὖ τὸ F.C.B.: ἦν αὐτὸ or αὐτὸν ἦν.

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 654 D and 1089 A.

turning and confusion of our highest concerns. To cling to every form of pleasure is utterly irrational, but to avoid every form of pleasure is utterly insensate. Let it be granted that there exist some other superior pleasures for the soul to enjoy, yet it is not possible to discover a way for the body to attain a pleasure more justifiable than that which comes from eating and drinking, and this is a fact which no man can have failed to observe; for this pleasure men put forward openly before all, and share together banquets and table, whereas their carnal delights they veil behind the screen of night and deep darkness, feeling that to share this pleasure openly is shameless and bestial, as it is also not to share the other."[a]

I took up the conversation as Cleodorus left off, and said, "But there is another point you do not mention, that we banish sleep along with food; and with no sleep there can be no dream, and our most ancient and respected form of divination is gone for ever. Life will have a monotonous sameness, and we might say that the encasement of the soul in the body will lack all purpose and effect. The most, and the most important, of the bodily organs, tongue, teeth, stomach, and liver, are provided as instruments of nutrition, no one of them is inactive, nor is it framed for any other form of usefulness. So he who has no need of food has no need of a body either; and that again would mean having no need of himself! For it is with a body that each one of us exists. This then," said I, "makes up the contributions which we offer to the belly; and if Solon or anybody else desires to impeach them in any way, we will listen."

B 16. "Πάνυ μὲν οὖν," ἔφη ὁ Σόλων, "μὴ καὶ
(159) τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀκριτώτεροι φανῶμεν, οἳ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνατέμνοντες ἔδειξαν τῷ ἡλίῳ, εἶτ' αὖ τὰ[1] μὲν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν κατέβαλον, τοῦ δ' ἄλλου σώματος ὡς ἤδη καθαροῦ γεγονότος ἐπιμέλονται. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ μίασμα τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ τάρταρος ὡς ἐν Ἅιδου, δεινῶν τινων ῥευμάτων καὶ πνεύματος ὁμοῦ καὶ πυρὸς συμπεφυρμένου καὶ νεκρῶν περίπλεως. ζῶν γὰρ οὐδεὶς[2] ἀπ' οὐδενὸς τρέφεται ζῶντος, ἀλλὰ θανατοῦντες τὰ ἔμψυχα, καὶ τὰ φυόμενα, τῷ τρέφεσθαι καὶ αὔξεσθαι μετέχοντα τοῦ ζῆν, ἀπολλύντες ἀδι-
C κοῦμεν. ἀπόλλυται γὰρ ἐξ οὗ πέφυκε τὸ μεταβάλλον εἰς ἄλλο, καὶ πᾶσαν φθείρεται φθοράν, ὅπως ἂν θατέρου τροφὴ γένοιτο. τὸ δ' ἀπέχεσθαι σαρκῶν ἐδωδῆς, ὥσπερ Ὀρφέα τὸν παλαιὸν ἱστοροῦσι, σόφισμα μᾶλλον ἢ φυγὴ τῶν περὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἀδικημάτων ἐστί. φυγὴ δὲ μία καὶ καθαρμὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνην τέλειος[3] αὐτάρκη καὶ ἀπροσδεᾶ γενέσθαι. ᾧ δ' ἄνευ κακώσεως ἑτέρου τὴν αὑτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἀμήχανον ὁ θεὸς πεποίηκε, τούτῳ τὴν φύσιν ἀρχὴν ἀδικίας προστέθεικεν. ἆρ' οὖν οὐκ ἄξιον, ὦ φίλε, συνεκτεμεῖν ἀδικίᾳ κοιλίαν καὶ στόμαχον καὶ ἧπαρ, ἃ καλοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς αἴσθησιν
D ἡμῖν οὐδ' ὄρεξιν ἐνδίδωσι, σκεύεσι δὲ μαγειρικοῖς,

[1] αὖ τὰ F.C.B.: αὐτὰ.
[2] οὐδεὶς added by Reiske, perhaps unnecessarily.
[3] τέλειος Reiske: τελειοῖ.

[a] This somewhat exaggerated description of the digestive tract is probably influenced by Homer, *Od.* x. 513 and ix. 157, and *Il.* i. 52 and viii. 13.
[b] *Cf.* Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, iii. 701 ff.

16. "Certainly," said Solon, "let us not show ourselves to be less discriminating than the Egyptians, who cut open the dead body and expose it to the sun, and then cast certain parts of it into the river, and perform their offices on the rest of the body, feeling that this part has now at last been made clean. For this, in truth, it is which constitutes the pollution of our flesh and its bowels of Hell, as it were, teeming with frightful streams and wind, intermingled with burning fire and corpses.[a] For no living man feeds upon another living creature; nay, we put to death the animate creatures and destroy these things that grow in the ground, which also are partakers in life, in that they absorb food, and increase in size; and herein we do wrong. For anything that is changed from what it was by nature into something else is destroyed, and it undergoes utter corruption that it may become the food of another.[b] But to refrain entirely from eating meat, as they record of Orpheus[c] of old, is rather a quibble than a way of avoiding wrong in regard to food. The one way of avoidance and of keeping oneself pure, from the point of view of righteousness, is to become sufficient unto oneself and to need nothing from any other source. But in the case of man or beast for whom God has made his own secure existence impossible without his doing injury to another, it may be said that in the nature which God has inflicted upon him lies the source of wrong. Would it not, then, be right and fair, my friend, in order to cut out injustice, to cut out also bowels and stomach and liver, which afford us no perception or craving for anything noble, but are

[c] Orpheus is said to have abstained from animal food (Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 992; Plato, *Laws*, p. 782 c).

(159) *οἷα κοπίδες καὶ λέβητες, τὰ δὲ μυλωθρικοῖς καὶ καμίνοις καὶ φυραμούχοις*[1] *καὶ μακτηρίοις ἔοικεν; ἀτεχνῶς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν ἴδοι τις ἂν ὥσπερ ἐν μυλῶνι τῷ σώματι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐγκεκαλυμμένην*[2] *ἀεὶ περὶ τὴν τῆς τροφῆς*[3] *χρείαν κυκλοῦσαν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄρτι μὲν οὔθ᾽ ἑωρῶμεν ἀλλήλους οὔτ᾽ ἠκούομεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἕκαστος ἐγκεκυφὼς ἐδούλευε τῇ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν χρείᾳ. νυνὶ δ᾽ ἐπαρθεισῶν τῶν τραπεζῶν ἐλεύθεροι γεγονότες ὡς ὁρᾷς, ἐστεφανωμένοι περὶ λόγους διατρίβομεν καὶ ἀλλήλοις σύν-*
E *εσμεν καὶ σχολὴν ἄγομεν, εἰς τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι τροφῆς ἐληλυθότες. ἆρ᾽ οὖν, ἄνπερ ἡ νῦν οὖσα περὶ ἡμᾶς ἕξις ἄπαυστος διαμένῃ παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον, οὐκ ἀεὶ σχολὴν ἕξομεν ἀλλήλοις συνεῖναι, μὴ δεδιότες πενίαν μηδ᾽ εἰδότες πλοῦτον; ὁ γὰρ τῶν περιττῶν ζῆλος εὐθὺς ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ συνοικίζεται τῇ χρείᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων.*

“ ᾽Αλλ᾽ *οἴεται δεῖν τροφὴν εἶναι* Κλεόδωρος, *ὅπως τράπεζαι καὶ κρατῆρες ὦσι καὶ* Δήμητρι[4] *καὶ* Κόρῃ *θυσίαι.*[5] *ἕτερος δέ τις ἀξιούτω μάχας εἶναι καὶ πόλεμον, ἵνα καὶ τείχη καὶ νεωσοίκους καὶ*
F *ὁπλοθήκας ἔχωμεν καὶ θύωμεν ἑκατομφόνια, καθάπερ φασὶ νόμον εἶναι* Μεσσηνίοις. *ἄλλον δὲ πρὸς*

[1] *φυραμούχοις* F.C.B.: *φρεωρούχοις.*
[2] *ἐγκεκαλυμμένην*] *ἐγκεκλημένην* (better *-κλεισ-*) Tucker, but *cf.* 159 A.
[3] *τροφῆς* Amyot: *ψυχῆς.*
[4] *ὦσι καὶ Δήμητρι* Hercher: *ὦσιν αἱ δήμητρι.*
[5] *θυσίαι* Larsen: *θύονται (θύεται) ἔτι,* or *θύων ἔτι.*

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[a] The explanation may be found in Pausanias, iv. 19;

like cooking utensils, such as choppers and kettles, and, in another respect, like a baker's outfit, ovens and dough-containers and kneading-bowls? Indeed, in the case of most people, one can see that their soul is absolutely confined in the darkness of the body as in a mill, making its endless rounds in its concern over its need of food; just as we ourselves, only a few minutes ago, as a matter of course, neither saw nor listened to one another, but each one was bending down, enslaved to his need of food. But now that the tables have been removed, we have, as you see, been made free, and, with garlands on, we are spending our time in conversation and in the enjoyment of one another's society, and we have the leisure to do this now that we have come to require no more food for a time. Assuming, then, that the state in which we find ourselves at the present moment will persist without interruption throughout our whole life, shall we not always have leisure to enjoy one another's society, having no fear of poverty and no knowledge of what wealth is? For craving for the superfluous follows close upon the use of necessities, and soon becomes a settled habit.

"But Cleodorus imagines that there ought to be food, so that there may be tables and wine-bowls and sacrifices to Demeter and the Daughter. Then let the next man argue that it is but right and proper that there be battles and war, so that we may have fortifications and dockyards and arsenals, and may offer sacrifice to celebrate the slaying of an hundred foemen,[a] as they say is the custom among the Messenians. Still another man, I imagine, may enter-

cf. also Plutarch, *Moralia*, 660 F, and *Life of Romulus*, chap. xxv. (p. 33 D).

τὴν ὑγίειαν οἶμαι χαλεπαίνειν· δεινὸν γὰρ εἰ μηδε-
νὸς νοσοῦντος οὐ στρωμνῆς ἔτι μαλακῆς ὄφελος οὐ
κλίνης, οὐκ Ἀσκληπιῷ θύσομεν οὐκ ἀποτροπαίοις,
ἰατρικὴ δὲ μετ' ὀργάνων καὶ φαρμάκων ἀποκείσε-
ται τοσούτων ἀκλεὴς καὶ ἀπόθεστος.[1] ἢ τί ταῦτ'
ἐκείνων διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ ἡ τροφὴ λιμοῦ φάρμακον
προσάγεται, καὶ θεραπεύειν ἑαυτοὺς λέγονται
160 πάντες οἱ τρεφόμενοι δίαιταν,[2] οὐχ ὡς ἡδύ τι
καὶ κεχαρισμένον ἀλλ' ὡς ἀναγκαῖον τοῦτο τῇ
φύσει πράττοντες. ἐπεὶ λύπας γε[3] πλείονας ἔστιν
ἀπὸ τῆς τροφῆς τῶν ἡδονῶν γιγνομένας κατ-
αριθμῆσαι, μᾶλλον δ' ἡ μὲν ἡδονὴ καὶ τόπον ἔχει
βραχὺν ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ χρόνον οὐ πολύν· ἡ δὲ
περὶ τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῆς ἀσχολία καὶ δυσχέρεια
τί δεῖ λέγειν ὅσων αἰσχρῶν καὶ ὀδυνηρῶν ἡμᾶς
ἐμπίπλησιν; οἶμαι γὰρ εἰς τοσαῦτα βλέψαντα τὸν
Ὅμηρον ἀποδείξει κεχρῆσθαι περὶ θεῶν τοῦ μὴ
ἀποθνήσκειν τῷ μὴ τρέφεσθαι

οὐ γὰρ σῖτον ἔδουσ', οὐ πίνουσ' αἴθοπα οἶνον·
τοὔνεκ' ἀναίμονές εἰσι καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται,

B ὡς μὴ μόνον τοῦ ζῆν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀποθνήσκειν
τὴν τροφὴν ἐφόδιον οὖσαν. ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ αἱ νόσοι,
συντρεφόμεναι[4] τοῖς σώμασιν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐνδείας
κακὸν ἔχουσι τὴν πλήρωσιν· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ
μεῖζόν ἐστιν ἔργον τοῦ πορίσαι τροφὴν καὶ συν-

[1] ἀπόθεστος Wyttenbach: ἀπόθετος.
[2] δίαιταν] καὶ διαιτᾶν Duebner.
[3] γε Wyttenbach: τε.
[4] συντρεφόμεναι] συντρέφονται Larsen, but it would be better to supply (if necessary) some verb like γίγνονται after νόσοι.

[a] *Il.* v. 341.
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 731 D, where the same idea is put in different words.

tain a violent hatred against health; for it will be a terrible thing if nobody is ill, and there is no longer any use for a soft bed or couch, and we shall not offer sacrifice to Asclepius or the averting deities, and the profession of medicine together with its numerous instruments and remedies shall be consigned to inglorious desuetude and contempt. Yet, what difference is there between this sort of reasoning and the other? The fact is that food is taken as a remedy for hunger, and all who use food in a prescribed way are said to be giving themselves treatment, not with the thought they are doing something pleasant and grateful, but that this is necessary to comply with Nature's imperative demand. Indeed, it is possible to enumerate more pains than pleasures derived from food; or rather may it be said that the pleasure affects but a very limited area in the body, and lasts for no long time; but as for the ugly and painful experiences crowded upon us by the bother and discomfort which wait upon digestion, what need to tell their number? I think that Homer [a] had their very number in view when, in the case of the gods, he finds an argument to prove that they do not die in the fact that they do not live by food:

> Since they eat no bread and drink no wine brightly sparkling,
> Therefore their bodies are bloodless, and they are called the Immortals.

He intimates by this that food is not only an element conducive to life, but that it is also conducive to death. For it is from this source that diseases come, thriving on the very same food as men's bodies,[b] which find no less ill in fulness than in fasting. For oftentimes it is harder work to use up and again to

(160) αγαγεῖν τὸ καταναλῶσαι καὶ διαφορῆσαι πάλιν εἰς τὸ σῶμα παραγενομένην. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἂν[1] διαποροῖεν αἱ Δαναΐδες τίνα βίον βιώσονται καὶ τί πράξουσιν ἀπαλλαγεῖσαι τῆς περὶ τὸν πίθον λατρείας καὶ πληρώσεως, οὕτω διαποροῦμεν ἡμεῖς,
C εἰ γένοιτο παύσασθαι φοροῦντας εἰς τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἄτρυτον ἐκ γῆς ἅμα καὶ θαλάττης τοσαῦτα, τί πράξομεν ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν καλῶν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις στέργοντες βίον. ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ δουλεύσαντες, ὅταν ἐλευθερωθῶσιν, ἃ πάλαι τοῖς δεσπόταις ἔπραττον ὑπηρετοῦντες, ταῦτα πράττουσιν αὑτοῖς καὶ δι' αὑτούς, οὕτως ἡ ψυχὴ νῦν μὲν τρέφει τὸ σῶμα πολλοῖς πόνοις καὶ ἀσχολίαις, εἰ δ' ἀπαλλαγείη τῆς λατρείας, αὑτὴν δήπουθεν ἐλευθέραν γενομένην θρέψει καὶ βιώσεται, εἰς αὑτὴν ὁρῶσα καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐδενὸς περισπῶντος οὐδ' ἀπάγοντος."

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ῥηθέντα περὶ τροφῆς, ὦ Νίκαρχε, ταῦτ' ἦν.

17. Ἔτι δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος λέγοντος εἰσῆλθε Γόργος ὁ Περιάνδρου ἀδελφός· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ εἰς
D Ταίναρον ἀπεσταλμένος ἔκ τινων χρησμῶν, τῷ Ποσειδῶνι θυσίαν καὶ θεωρίαν ἀπάγων. ἀσπασαμένων δ' αὐτὸν ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Περιάνδρου προσαγαγομένου καὶ φιλήσαντος καθίσας παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ἀπήγγειλεν ἅττα δὴ πρὸς μόνον ἐκεῖνον, ὁ δ' ἠκροᾶτο, πολλὰ πάσχοντι πρὸς τὸν λόγον ὅμοιος ὤν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀχθόμενος τὰ δ' ἀγανακτῶν ἐφαίνετο, πολλάκις δ' ἀπιστῶν, εἶτα θαυμάζων·

[1] ἂν Larsen: εἰ.

[a] *Cf.* Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, iii. 27.

distribute food, after it has been taken into the body, than it was to procure it and get it together in the first place. But just as the Danaids would be at a loss to know what kind of life and occupation they should follow if they should be relieved of their drudgery in trying to fill the great jar, so we are at a loss to know, if perchance we should have the opportunity to cease from heaping into this relentless flesh of ours all the multitudinous products of land and sea, what we shall do, since, owing to lack of acquaintance with noble things, we now content ourselves with the life conditioned on necessities. Just as men who have been slaves, when they are set free, do for themselves on their own account those very things which they used to do in service to their masters,[a] so the soul now supports the body with much toil and trouble, but if it be relieved of its drudgery, it will quite naturally maintain itself in its new freedom and live with an eye to itself and the truth, since there will be nothing to distract or divert it."

This then, Nicarchus, is what was said on the subject of food.

17. While Solon was still speaking, Gorgus, Periander's brother, came in; for it happened that, in consequence of certain oracles, he had been sent to Taenarum, in charge of a sacred mission to offer due sacrifice to Poseidon. After we had greeted him, and Periander had embraced and kissed him, Gorgus sat down beside his brother on the couch, and gave him a report intended apparently for him alone, and he, as he listened, seemed much affected at the story; for he appeared in some ways troubled, in some ways indignant, and oftentimes incredulous,

(160) τέλος δὲ γελάσας πρὸς ἡμᾶς "βούλομαι μέν," ἔφη, "πρὸς τὸ παρὸν φράσαι τὸ προσηγγελμένον·
E ὀκνῶ δ' ἀκούσας Θαλέω ποτ' εἰπόντος ὅτι δεῖ τὰ μὲν εἰκότα λέγειν, τὰ δ' ἀμήχανα σιωπᾶν."

Ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Βίας "ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτ'," ἔφη, "Θαλέω τὸ σοφόν ἐστιν, ὅτι δεῖ τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς καὶ περὶ τῶν πιστῶν ἀπιστεῖν, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις καὶ τὰ ἄπιστα πιστεύειν, ἐχθροὺς μέν, ἔγωγ' ἡγοῦμαι, τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ ἀνοήτους, φίλους δὲ τοὺς χρηστοὺς καὶ φρονίμους αὐτοῦ καλοῦντος. οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "λεκτέον εἰς ἅπαντας, ὦ Γόργε, μᾶλλον δ' ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τοὺς νέους τούτους διθυράμβους ὑπερφθεγγόμενον ὃν ἥκεις λόγον ἡμῖν κομίζων."

18. Ἔφη τοίνυν Γόργος ὅτι, τῆς θυσίας ἐφ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς συντελεσθείσης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ
F τελευταίᾳ παννυχίδος οὔσης καὶ χορείας τινὸς καὶ παιδιᾶς παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἡ μὲν σελήνη κατέλαμπεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, οὐκ ὄντος δὲ πνεύματος ἀλλὰ νηνεμίας καὶ γαλήνης, πόρρωθεν ἀφεωρᾶτο φρίκη κατιοῦσα παρὰ τὴν ἄκραν, ἀφρόν τινα καὶ ψόφον ἄγουσα τῷ ῥοθίῳ περὶ αὐτὴν πολύν, ὥστε πάντας ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον οἷ προσώκελλε[1] καταδραμεῖν θαυμάσαντας. πρὶν δ' εἰκάσαι τὸ προσφερόμενον ὑπὸ τάχους, δελφῖνες ὤφθησαν, οἱ μὲν ἀθρόοι πέριξ κυκλοῦντες, οἱ δ' ὑφηγούμενοι τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ πρὸς τὸ λειότατον, ἄλλοι δ' ἐξόπισθεν, οἷον περιέποντες.

[1] προσώκελλε F.C.B.: προσέκελλε Tucker: προσέμελλε or προσέβαλλε.

and then again amazed. Finally with a laugh he said to us, "In the circumstances I should like to tell the news which I have just heard, but I hesitate, since I heard Thales say once that what is probable one should tell, but what is impossible one should shroud in silence."

Thereupon Bias, interrupting, said, "But Thales is responsible also for this sage remark, that one should not believe enemies even about things believable, and should believe friends even about things unbelievable; the name 'enemies' he assigned, I think, to the wicked and foolish, and 'friends' to the good and sensible. And so, Gorgus," he continued, "it should be told to all, or rather, to compete with those newly invented dithyrambs,[a] there should be heard the stronger notes of the story which your arrival has brought to us."

18. Gorgus then told us that his offering of the sacrifice had taken three days, and on the last day there was a dance and merry-making, lasting the whole night long, down by the shore. The moon was shining bright upon the sea; there was no wind, but a perfect calm and stillness, when, afar off, was seen a ripple coming towards land close by the promontory, attended by some foam and much noise from its rapid movement, so that they all ran down in amazement to the place where it was coming to shore. Before they could guess what was bearing down upon them so rapidly, dolphins were seen, some forming a dense encircling line, others leading the way to the smoothest part of the shore, and still others behind, forming, as it were, a rear-guard. In their midst,

[a] Probably a covert reference to Arion as the inventor of the dithyramb (Herodotus, i. 23).

161 ἐν μέσῳ δ' ἀνεῖχεν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ὄγκος ἀ-
σαφὴς καὶ ἄσημος ὀχουμένου σώματος, μέχρι οὗ
συναγαγόντες[1] εἰς ταὐτὸ καὶ συνεποκείλαντες ἐξ-
έθηκαν ἐπὶ γῆν ἄνθρωπον ἔμπνουν καὶ κινούμενον,
αὐτοὶ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν ἀναφερόμενοι μᾶλ-
λον ἢ πρότερον ἐξήλλοντο, παίζοντες ὑφ' ἡδονῆς
τινος ὡς ἔοικε καὶ σκιρτῶντες. "ἡμῶν δ'," ὁ
Γόργος ἔφη, "πολλοὶ μὲν διαταραχθέντες ἔφυγον
ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ὀλίγοι δὲ μετ' ἐμοῦ θαρρήσαντες
προσελθεῖν ἐγνώρισαν Ἀρίονα τὸν κιθαρῳδόν,
B αὐτὸν τοὔνομα φθεγγόμενον ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τῇ στολῇ
καταφανῆ γενόμενον· τὸν γὰρ ἐναγώνιον ἐτύγχανεν
ἀμπεχόμενος κόσμον, ᾧ κιθαρῳδῶν ἐχρήσατο.

"Κομίσαντες οὖν ἐπὶ σκηνὴν αὐτόν, ὡς οὐδὲν εἶχε
κακὸν ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ τάχος καὶ ῥοῖζον ἐφαίνετο τῆς
φορᾶς ἐκλελυμένος καὶ κεκμηκώς, ἠκούσαμεν
λόγον ἄπιστον ἅπασι πλὴν ἡμῶν τῶν θεασαμένων
τὸ τέλος. ἔλεγε γὰρ Ἀρίων ὡς πάλαι μὲν ἐγνωκὼς
ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπαίρειν, Περιάνδρου δὲ γράψαντος
αὐτῷ προθυμότερος γενόμενος ὁλκάδος Κορινθίας
παραφανείσης εὐθὺς ἐπιβὰς ἀναχθείη, μετρίῳ δὲ
πνεύματι χρωμένων ἡμέρας τρεῖς αἴσθοιτο τοὺς
C ναύτας ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν, εἶτα καὶ
παρὰ τοῦ κυβερνήτου πύθοιτο κρύφα μηνύσαντος
ὡς τῇ νυκτὶ τοῦτο δρᾶν αὐτοῖς εἴη δεδογμένον.
ἔρημος οὖν ὢν βοηθείας καὶ ἀπορῶν ὁρμῇ τινι
χρήσαιτο δαιμονίῳ τὸ μὲν σῶμα κοσμῆσαι καὶ

[1] συναγαγόντες] συνάγοντες nearly all mss., perhaps rightly.

uplifted above the sea, was a mass like a man's body being borne along, but indistinct and ill-defined, until the dolphins drew near together, and with one accord came close to the shore, and deposited on land a human being, in whom was still the breath of life and power to move; then they themselves put forth again towards the promontory leaping even higher than before, and sporting and frolicking apparently for joy. "Many of us," continued Gorgus, "were panic-stricken, and fled from the sea-shore, but a few, including myself, grew bold enough to draw near, and they recognized Arion the harper, who pronounced his own name himself, and was easily recognizable by his dress; for he happened to be clad in the ceremonial robes which he had worn when he played and sang.

"We accordingly conducted him to a tent, since there was really nothing the matter with him, save that he seemed somewhat unstrung and wearied by the swiftness and rush of his ride, and we heard from him a story, incredible to all men except to us who with our own eyes had seen its conclusion. Arion said that some time ago he had resolved to leave Italy, and the receipt of a letter from Periander had only stimulated his desire the more, and when a Corinthian merchant-vessel appeared there, he had at once embarked and sailed away from that land. For three days they were favoured by a moderate breeze, and there came over Arion the feeling that the sailors were plotting to make away with him, and later he learned from the pilot, who secretly gave him the information, that they were resolved to do the deed that night. Helpless and at his wits' end, he put into execution an impulse, divinely inspired, to adorn

(161) λαβεῖν ἐντάφιον αὑτῷ τὸν ἐναγώνιον ἔτι ζῶν κόσμον, ἐπᾶσαι[1] δὲ τῷ βίῳ τελευτῶν καὶ μὴ γενέσθαι κατὰ τοῦτο τῶν κύκνων ἀγεννέστερος. ἐσκευασμένος οὖν καὶ προειπὼν ὅτι προθυμία τις αὐτὸν ἔχοι τῶν νόμων διελθεῖν τὸν Πυθικὸν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὑτοῦ καὶ τῆς νεὼς καὶ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων,
D καταστὰς παρὰ τὸν τοῖχον ἐν πρύμνῃ καί τινα θεῶν πελαγίων ἀνάκλησιν προανακρουσάμενος ᾄδοι τὸν νόμον. καὶ ὅσον οὔπω μεσοῦντος αὐτοῦ καταδύοιτο μὲν ὁ ἥλιος εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ἀναφαίνοιτο δ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος. οὐκέτ' οὖν τῶν ναυτῶν τὴν νύκτα περιμενόντων ἀλλὰ χωρούντων ἐπὶ τὸν φόνον, ἰδὼν ξίφη γεγυμνωμένα καὶ παρακαλυπτόμενον ἤδη τὸν κυβερνήτην, ἀναδραμὼν ῥίψειεν ἑαυτὸν ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν μάλιστα πόρρω τῆς ὁλκάδος. πρὶν δ' ὅλον καταδῦναι τὸ σῶμα δελφίνων ὑποδραμόντων ἀναφέροιτο, μεστὸς ὢν ἀπορίας καὶ ἀγνοίας καὶ ταραχῆς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ῥᾳστώνη τῆς ὀχήσεως ἦν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑώρα ἀθροιζομένους
E περὶ αὐτὸν εὐμενῶς καὶ διαδεχομένους ὡς ἀναγκαῖον ἐν μέρει λειτούργημα καὶ προσῆκον πᾶσιν, ἡ δ' ὁλκὰς ἀπολειφθεῖσα πόρρω τοῦ τάχους αἴσθησιν παρεῖχε, μήτε τοσοῦτον ἔφη δέους πρὸς θάνατον αὑτῷ μήτ' ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ ζῆν ὅσον φιλοτιμίας ἐγγενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν, ὡς θεοφιλὴς ἀνὴρ φανείη καὶ λάβοι περὶ θεῶν δόξαν βέβαιον. ἅμα δὲ καθορῶν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων περίπλεων καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἀνίσχουσαν εὐφεγγῆ καὶ καθαράν,

[1] ἐπᾶσαι F.C.B. (*cf. e.g. Moralia*, 347 E): ἐξᾶσαι.

his person, and to take for his shroud, while he was still living, the elaborate attire which he wore at competitions, and to sing a final song to life as he ended it, and not to prove himself in this respect less generous than the swans. Accordingly he made himself ready, and, first saying that he was possessed by a desire to sing through one of his songs—the ode to Pythian Apollo—as a supplication for the safety of himself and the ship and all on board, he took his stand beside the bulwark at the stern, and, after a prelude invoking the gods of the sea, he began the ode. He had not even half finished it as the sun was sinking into the sea and the Peloponnesus becoming visible. The sailors therefore waited no longer for the night-time, but advanced to the murderous deed; whereupon Arion, seeing knives bared and the pilot already covering up his face, ran back and threw himself as far away from the ship as possible. But before his body was entirely submerged, dolphins swam beneath him, and he was borne upward, full of doubt and uncertainty and confusion at first. But when he began to feel at ease in being carried in this manner, and saw many dolphins gathering around him in a friendly way, and relieving one another as though such service in alternation were obligatory and incumbent upon all, and the sight of the ship left far behind gave a means to measure their speed, there came into his thoughts, as he said, not so much a feeling of fear in the face of death, or a desire to live, as a proud longing to be saved that he might be shown to be a man loved by the gods, and that he might gain a sure opinion regarding them. At the same time, observing that the sky was dotted with stars, and the moon was rising bright and clear,

F ἑστώσης δὲ πάντῃ τῆς θαλάττης ἀκύμονος ὥσπερ τρίβον ἀνασχιζόμενον τῷ δρόμῳ, διανοεῖσθαι πρὸς αὑτὸν ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν εἷς ὁ τῆς Δίκης ὀφθαλμός, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τούτοις ἐπισκοπεῖ κύκλῳ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πραττόμενα περί γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν. τούτοις δὲ δὴ τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἔφη τὸ κάμνον αὐτῷ καὶ βαρυνόμενον ἤδη τοῦ σώματος ἀναφέρεσθαι, καὶ τέλος ἐπεὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἀπαντώσης ἀποτόμου καὶ ὑψηλῆς εὖ πως φυλαξάμενοι καὶ κάμψαντες ἐν χρῷ παρενήχοντο[1] τῆς γῆς ὥσπερ εἰς λιμένα σκάφος ἀσφαλῶς[2]
162 κατάγοντες, παντάπασιν αἰσθέσθαι θεοῦ κυβερνήσει γεγονέναι τὴν κομιδήν.

"Ταῦθ'," ὁ Γόργος ἔφη, "τοῦ Ἀρίονος εἰπόντος, ἠρόμην αὐτὸν ὅποι[3] τὴν ναῦν οἴεται κατασχήσειν. ὁ δὲ πάντως μὲν εἰς Κόρινθον, πολὺ μέντοι καθυστερεῖν· αὐτὸν γὰρ ἑσπέρας ἐκπεσόντα πεντακοσίων οὐ μεῖον οἴεσθαι σταδίων δρόμον κομισθῆναι, καὶ γαλήνην εὐθὺς κατασχεῖν." οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ Γόργος ἔφη πυθόμενον τοῦ τε ναυκλήρου τοὔνομα καὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου καὶ τῆς νεὼς τὸ παράσημον ἐκπέμψαι πλοῖα καὶ στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τὰς κα-
B τάρσεις παραφυλάξοντας· τὸν δ' Ἀρίονα μετ' αὑτοῦ κομίζειν ἀποκεκρυμμένον, ὅπως μὴ προαισθόμενοι τὴν σωτηρίαν διαφύγοιεν· ὄντως οὖν ἐοικέναι θείᾳ τύχῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα· παρεῖναι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἅμα δεῦρο καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι τῆς νεὼς κεκρατημένης ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν συνειλῆφθαι τοὺς ἐμπόρους καὶ ναύτας.

[1] παρενήχοντο Wyttenbach: γὰρ ἐνήχοντο, or ἐνήχοντο παρὰ in one ms.
[2] ἀσφαλῶς Reiske: ἀσφαλές. [3] ὅποι Hatzidakis: ὅπου.

[a] Possibly a reference to a line of an unknown tragedian found in *Moralia*, 1124 F.

while the sea everywhere was without a wave as if a path were being opened for their course, he bethought himself that the eye of Justice is not a single eye only,[a] but through all these eyes of hers God watches in every direction the deeds that are done here and there both on land and on the sea. By these reflections, he said, the weariness and heaviness which he was already beginning to feel in his body were relieved, and when at the last, as the jutting promontory, rugged and lofty, appeared in their path, they rounded it with great caution, and skirted close to the land as if they were bringing a boat safely into harbour, then he fully realized that his rescue had been guided by God's hand.

"When Arion had told all this," continued Gorgus, "I asked him where he thought the ship would make harbour; and he replied that it would surely come to Corinth, but its arrival would be much later; for he thought that after he had thrown himself overboard in the evening, he had been carried a distance of not less than fifty or more miles, and a calm had fallen immediately." Gorgus went on to say that he had ascertained the name of the captain and of the pilot, and the ship's emblem, and had sent out boats and soldiers to the landing-places to keep strict watch; moreover, he had brought Arion with him, carefully concealed, so that the guilty ones might not gain any premature information of his rescue from death, and make good their escape; and in fact the whole affair seemed like an event divinely directed, for his men were here just as he arrived, and he learned that the ship had been seized, and the traders and sailors arrested.

(162) 19. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Περίανδρος ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντα τὸν Γόργον εἰς φυλακὴν ἀποθέσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας οὗ μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς πρόσεισι μηδὲ φράσει τὸν Ἀρίονα σεσωσμένον.

Ὁ δ' Αἴσωπος "ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς," ἔφη, "τοὺς ἐμοὺς χλευάζετε κολοιοὺς καὶ κόρακας εἰ διαλέγονται· δελφῖνες δὲ τοιαῦτα νεανιεύονται;"

Κἀγὼ πρὸς αὐτόν, "ἄλλο τι λέγωμεν," ἔφην, C "ὦ Αἴσωπε· τούτῳ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ πιστευομένῳ καὶ γραφομένῳ παρ' ἡμῖν πλέον ἢ χίλι' ἔτη διαγέγονεν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰνοῦς καὶ Ἀθάμαντος χρόνων."

Ὁ δὲ Σόλων ὑπολαβὼν "ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, ὦ Διόκλεις, ἐγγὺς θεῶν ἔστω καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς· ἀνθρώπινον δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου πάθος· ἀκήκοας γὰρ ἴσως τὸν λόγον."

"Οὐκ ἔγωγ'," εἶπον.[1]

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄξιον πυθέσθαι. Μιλησίου γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνδρός, ᾧ ξενίας ἐκοινώνει ὁ Ἡσίοδος D καὶ διαίτης ἐν Λοκροῖς, τῇ τοῦ ξένου θυγατρὶ κρύφα συγγενομένου καὶ φωραθέντος ὑποψίαν ἔσχεν ὡς γνοὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ συνεπικρύψας τὸ ἀδίκημα, μηδενὸς ὢν αἴτιος, ὀργῆς δὲ καιρῷ καὶ διαβολῆς περιπεσὼν ἀδίκως. ἀπέκτειναν γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς παιδίσκης ἀδελφοὶ περὶ τὸ Λοκρικὸν Νέμειον ἐνεδρεύσαντες, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀκόλουθον, ᾧ Τρωίλος ἦν ὄνομα. τῶν δὲ σωμάτων εἰς τὴν

[1] εἶπον Reiske: εἶπεν.

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[a] Ino also threw herself into the sea when the crazed Athamas was about to kill her, and was metamorphosed into the sea-goddess Leucothea.

[b] The story is referred to as early as Thucydides (iii. 96), and seems to have received some embellishments later. Of the many references to the story (which may be found in

19. Accordingly Periander bade Gorgus to withdraw at once, and have these men put into prison where nobody should have access to them or tell them that Arion had been rescued.

"Well! well!" said Aesop, "you all make fun of my jackdaws and crows if they talk with one another, and yet dolphins indulge in such pranks as this!"

"Let's change the subject, Aesop," said I to him; "more than a thousand years have elapsed since this dolphin story has been believed and committed to writing in Greek lands, even from the days of Ino and Athamas." [a]

Solon here entered the conversation: "Well, Diocles, let it be granted that these things are near to the gods and far beyond us; but what happened to Hesiod is human and within our ken. Very likely you have heard the story." [b]

"No, I have not," said I.

"Well, it is really worth hearing, and so here it is. A man from Miletus, it seems, with whom Hesiod shared lodging and entertainment in Locris, had secret relations with the daughter of the man who entertained them; and when he was detected, Hesiod fell under suspicion of having known about the misconduct from the outset, and of having helped to conceal it, although he was in nowise guilty, but only the innocent victim of a fit of anger and prejudice. For the girl's brothers killed him, lying in wait for him in the vicinity of the temple of Nemean Zeus in Locris, and with him they killed his servant whose name was Troïlus. The dead bodies were

Wyttenbach's note on the passage) perhaps the most interesting is in the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, lines 215-254 of Allen's edition (in the Oxford Classical Texts, 1912), which also assigns names to the persons concerned in it.

(162) θάλατταν ὠσθέντων τὸ μὲν τοῦ Τρωίλου, εἰς τὸν Δάφνον ποταμὸν ἔξω φορούμενον, ἐπεσχέθη περικλύστῳ χοιράδι μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν θάλατταν ἀνεχούσῃ· καὶ μέχρι νῦν Τρωίλος ἡ χοιρὰς καλεῖται·
E τοῦ δ' Ἡσιόδου τὸν νεκρὸν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ γῆς ὑπολαβοῦσα δελφίνων ἀγέλη πρὸς τὸ Ῥίον κατὰ τὴν Μολύκρειαν[1] ἐκόμιζε. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Λοκροῖς ἡ τῶν Ῥίων καθεστῶσα θυσία καὶ πανήγυρις, ἣν ἄγουσιν ἔτι νῦν ἐπιφανῶς περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον. ὡς δ' ὤφθη προσφερόμενον τὸ σῶμα, θαυμάσαντες ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν κατέδραμον, καὶ γνωρίσαντες ἔτι πρόσφατον τὸν νεκρὸν ἅπαντα δεύτερα τοῦ ζητεῖν τὸν φόνον ἐποιοῦντο διὰ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Ἡσιόδου. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ταχέως ἔπραξαν, εὑρόντες τοὺς φονεῖς· αὐτούς τε γὰρ κατεπόντισαν ζῶντας καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν κατέσκαψαν. ἐτάφη δ' ὁ Ἡσίοδος πρὸς τῷ Νεμείῳ· τὸν δὲ τάφον οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ξένων οὐκ ἴσασιν, ἀλλ' ἀποκέκρυπται ζητούμενος ὑπ'
F Ὀρχομενίων, ὥς φασι, βουλομένων κατὰ χρησμὸν ἀνελέσθαι τὰ λείψανα καὶ θάψαι παρ' αὐτοῖς. εἴπερ οὖν οὕτως ἔχουσιν οἰκείως καὶ φιλανθρώπως πρὸς τοὺς ἀποθανόντας, ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰκός ἐστι τοῖς ζῶσι βοηθεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα κηληθέντας αὐλοῖς ἤ τισι μέλεσι. τουτὶ γὰρ ἤδη πάντες ἴσμεν, ὅτι μουσικῇ τὰ ζῷα ταῦτα χαίρει καὶ διώκει, καὶ παρανήχεται τοῖς ἐλαυνομένοις πρὸς ᾠδὴν καὶ αὐλὸν ἐν εὐδίᾳ πορείαις τερπόμενα. χαίρει δὲ

[1] κατὰ τὴν Μολύκρειαν Palmer: καὶ τὴν μολύκριαν.

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 984 D.

[b] These were common beliefs in ancient times as is attested by many writers. It may suffice here to refer only to Plutarch, *Moralia*, 704 F and 984 A–985 C.

shoved out into the sea, and the body of Troïlus, borne out into the current of the river Daphnus, was caught on a wave-washed rock projecting a little above the sea-level; and even to this day the rock is called Troïlus. The body of Hesiod, as soon as it left the land, was taken up by a company of dolphins, who conveyed it to Rhium hard by Molycreia.[a] It happened that the Locrians' periodic Rhian sacrifice and festal gathering was being held then, which even nowadays they celebrate in a noteworthy manner at that place. When the body was seen being carried towards them, they were naturally filled with astonishment, and ran down to the shore; recognizing the corpse, which was still fresh, they held all else to be of secondary importance in comparison with investigating the murder, on account of the repute of Hesiod. This they quickly accomplished, discovered the murderers, sank them alive in the sea, and razed their house to the ground. Hesiod was buried near the temple of Nemean Zeus; most foreigners do not know about his grave, but it has been kept concealed, because, as they say, it was sought for by the people of Orchomenos, who wished, in accordance with an oracle, to recover the remains and bury them in their own land. If, therefore, dolphins show such a tender and humane interest in the dead, it is even more likely that they should give aid to the living, and especially if they are charmed by the sound of flutes or some songs or other. For we are all well aware of the fact that these creatures delight in music and follow after it, and swim along beside men who are rowing to the accompaniment of song and flute in a calm, and they enjoy travelling in this way.[b] They take delight

163 καὶ νήξεσι παίδων καὶ κολύμβοις ἁμιλλᾶται. διὸ καὶ νόμος ἀδείας ἄγραφός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς· θηρᾷ γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὔδε λυμαίνεται, πλὴν ὅταν ἐν δικτύοις γενόμενοι κακουργῶσι περὶ τὴν ἄγραν, πληγαῖς κολάζονται καθάπερ παῖδες ἁμαρτάνοντες. μέμνημαι δὲ καὶ παρὰ Λεσβίων ἀνδρῶν ἀκούσας σωτηρίαν τινὰ κόρης ὑπὸ δελφῖνος ἐκ θαλάττης γενέσθαι· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἀκριβῶ τἄλλα, ὁ δὲ[1] Πιττακὸς ἐπεὶ γιγνώσκει,[2] δίκαιός ἐστι περὶ τούτων διελθεῖν."

20. Ἔφη τοίνυν ὁ Πιττακὸς ἔνδοξον εἶναι καὶ μνημονευόμενον ὑπὸ πολλῶν τὸν λόγον. χρησμοῦ γὰρ γενομένου τοῖς οἰκίζουσι Λέσβον, ὅταν ἕρματι
B πλέοντες προστύχωσιν ὃ καλεῖται Μεσόγειον, τότ' ἐνταῦθα Ποσειδῶνι μὲν ταῦρον Ἀμφιτρίτῃ δὲ καὶ Νηρηίσι ζῶσαν καθεῖναι[3] παρθένον· ὄντων οὖν ἀρχηγετῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ βασιλέων, ὀγδόου δὲ τοῦ Ἐχελάου πυθοχρήστου τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγεμόνος, οὗτος μὲν ἠίθεος ἦν ἔτι, τῶν δ' ἑπτὰ κληρουμένων, ὅσοις ἄγαμοι παῖδες ἦσαν, καταλαμβάνει θυγατέρα Σμινθέως ὁ κλῆρος. ἣν ἐσθῆτι καὶ χρυσῷ κοσμήσαντες ὡς ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὸν τόπον, ἔμελλον εὐξάμενοι καθήσειν. ἔτυχε δέ τις ἐρῶν αὐτῆς τῶν συμπλεόντων, οὐκ ἀγεννὴς ὡς ἔοικε νεανίας,
C οὗ καὶ τοὔνομα διαμνημονεύουσιν Ἔναλον. οὗτος

[1] ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν . . . ὁ δὲ Bernardakis seems to be the best correction suggested as yet. λέγω μὲν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἀλλ' ὁ Πιττακὸς can also be defended: λεγόμενον ἀκριβῶς ἀλλ' ὁ.

[2] ἐπεὶ γιγνώσκει Wyttenbach: ἐπιγιγνώσκει.

[3] καθεῖναι Hercher: καθιέναι.

also in children's swimming, and vie with them in diving.[a] For this reason they profit also by an unwritten law of immunity; for nobody hunts them or injures them except when they get into the fishermen's nets, and do havoc with the catch, and then they are punished with a whipping like naughty children. I remember also hearing from some men of Lesbos that the rescue of a certain maiden from the sea was effected by a dolphin, but, as I am not sure of the various details, it is only right that Pittacus, who does know them, should relate the tale."

20. Pittacus thereupon said that it was a famous story,[b] and one mentioned by many, to this effect. An oracle had been given to those who were setting out to found a colony in Lesbos that when their voyage should bring them to a reef which is called "Midland," then they should cast into the sea at that place a bull as an offering to Poseidon, and to Amphitrite and the Nymphs of the sea a living virgin. The commanders were seven in number, all kings, and the eighth was Echelaüs, designated by the oracle at Delphi to head the colony, although he was young and still unmarried. The seven, or as many as had unmarried daughters, cast lots, and the lot fell upon the daughter of Smintheus. Her they adorned with fine raiment and golden ornaments as they arrived opposite the spot, and purposed, as soon as they had offered prayer, to cast her into the sea. It happened that one of the company on board, a young man of no mean origin as it seems, was in love with her. His name, according to a tradition still preserved, was

[a] See preceding note on page 438.

[b] The story is briefly mentioned by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 984 E, and is given in full with some variations by Athenaeus, 466 C, who quotes as his authority Anticleides an Athenian.

(163) ἀμήχανόν τινα τοῦ βοηθεῖν τῇ παρθένῳ προθυμίαν ἐν τῷ τότε πάθει λαβὼν παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὥρμησε καὶ περιπλακεὶς ὁμοῦ συγκαθῆκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν φήμη τις οὐκ ἔχουσα τὸ βέβαιον, ἄλλως δὲ πείθουσα πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ διηνέχθη περὶ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ κομιδῆς. ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἔναλόν φασιν ἐν Λέσβῳ φανῆναι καὶ λέγειν ὡς ὑπὸ δελφίνων φορητοὶ διὰ θαλάττης ἐκπέσοιεν ἀβλαβεῖς[1] εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον, ἔτι[2] δ' ἄλλα θειότερα τούτων ἐκπλήττοντα καὶ κηλοῦντα τοὺς πολλοὺς διηγεῖσθαι, D πάντων δὲ πίστιν ἔργῳ παρασχεῖν. κύματος γὰρ ἠλιβάτου περὶ τὴν νῆσον αἰρομένου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεδιότων, ἀπαντῆσαι μόνον τῇ θαλάττῃ, καὶ[3] ἕπεσθαι πολύποδας αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος· ὧν τοῦ μεγίστου λίθον κομίζοντος λαβεῖν τὸν Ἔναλον καὶ ἀναθεῖναι, καὶ τοῦτον Ἔναλον καλοῦμεν. "Καθόλου δ'," εἶπεν, "εἴ τις εἰδείη[4] διαφορὰν ἀδυνάτου καὶ ἀσυνήθους καὶ παραλόγου καὶ παραδόξου, μάλιστ' ἄν, ὦ Χίλων, καὶ μήτε[5] πιστεύων ὡς ἔτυχε μήτ' ἀπιστῶν, τὸ 'μηδὲν ἄγαν' ὡς σὺ προσέταξας διαφυλάττοι.[6]"

21. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις εἶπεν ὅτι τοῦ Θαλέω καλῶς ὑπολαμβάνοντος ἐν πᾶσιν εἶναι E τοῖς κυριωτάτοις μέρεσι τοῦ κόσμου καὶ μεγίστοις ψυχήν, οὐκ ἄξιόν ἐστι θαυμάζειν εἰ τὰ κάλλιστα

[1] ἀβλαβεῖς F.C.B. (*cf.* σῶον, *Moralia*, 984 E): ἀβλαβῶς.
[2] ἔτι Hercher: ἔστι.
[3] τῇ θαλάττῃ, καὶ F.C.B.: θαλάττῃ.
[4] εἰδείη Pflugk: εἶδεν ἤ.
[5] καὶ μήτε] μήτε Wyttenbach.
[6] διαφυλάττοι Wyttenbach: διαφυλάττων.

Enalus. He, conceiving a despairing desire to help the maiden in her present misfortune, at the critical moment hurriedly clasped her in his arms, and threw himself with her into the sea. Straightway a rumour spread, having no sure foundation, but nevertheless carrying conviction to many in the community, regarding their safety and rescue. Later, as they say, Enalus appeared in Lesbos, and told how they had been borne by dolphins through the sea, and put ashore unharmed on the mainland. Other things he related more miraculous even than this, which astonished and fascinated the crowd, and he gave good grounds for believing them all by a deed which he did; for when a towering wave precipitated itself on the shores of the island, and the people were in a state of terror, he, all by himself, went to meet the sea, and cuttle-fish followed him to the shrine of Poseidon, the biggest of which brought a stone [a] with him, and this stone Enalus took and dedicated there, and this we call Enalus. "And in general," he continued, "if a man realizes a difference between the impossible and the unfamiliar, and between false reasoning and false opinion, such a man, Chilon, who would neither believe nor disbelieve at haphazard, would be most observant of the precept, 'Avoid extremes,' as you have enjoined."

21. Following him Anacharsis said that as Thales had set forth the excellent hypothesis that soul exists in all the most dominant and most important parts of the universe,[b] there is no proper ground for wonder that the most excellent things are brought

[a] Athenaeus (466 c) says a golden cup was brought out of the sea by Enalus.

[b] *Cf.* Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. i. p. 12 (A 22).

περαίνεται θεοῦ γνώμῃ. "ψυχῆς γὰρ ὄργανον τὸ σῶμα, θεοῦ δ' ἡ ψυχή· καὶ καθάπερ σῶμα πολλὰς μὲν ἐξ αὑτοῦ κινήσεις ἔχει, τὰς δὲ πλείστας καὶ καλλίστας ὑπὸ ψυχῆς, οὕτως αὖ πάλιν ἡ ψυχὴ τὰ μὲν ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς κινουμένη πράττει, τὰ δὲ τῷ θεῷ παρέχει χρωμένῳ κατευθύνειν καὶ τρέπειν ἑαυτὴν ᾗ βούλοιτο, πάντων ὀργάνων εὐτρεπέστατον οὖσα. δεινὸν γάρ," εἶπεν, "εἰ πῦρ μὲν ὄργανόν ἐστι θεοῦ καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ νέφη καὶ
F *ὄμβροι, δι' ὧν πολλὰ μὲν σῴζει τε καὶ τρέφει, πολλὰ δ' ἀπόλλυσι καὶ ἀναιρεῖ, ζῴοις δὲ χρῆται πρὸς οὐδὲν ἁπλῶς οὐδέπω τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γιγνομένων. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἐξηρτημένα*[1] *τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως ὑπουργεῖν, καὶ συμπαθεῖν ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ κινήσεσιν ἢ Σκύθαις τόξα λύραι δ' Ἕλλησι καὶ αὐλοὶ συμπαθοῦσιν."*

Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ ποιητὴς Χερσίας ἄλλων τε σωθέντων ἀνελπίστως ἐμέμνητο καὶ Κυψέλου τοῦ Περιάνδρου πατρός, ὃν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἀνελεῖν νεογνὸν ὄντα προσμειδιάσαντ'[2] *αὐτοῖς ἀπετράποντο· καὶ πάλιν μετανοήσαντες ἐζήτουν καὶ οὐχ εὗρον*
164 *εἰς κυψέλην ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἀποτεθέντα. διὸ καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐν Δελφοῖς κατεσκεύασεν ὁ Κύψελος, ὥσπερ θεοῦ τότε τὸν κλαυθμυρισμὸν ἐπισχόντος, ὅπως διαλάθοι τοὺς ζητοῦντας.*

Καὶ ὁ Πιττακὸς προσαγορεύσας τὸν Περίανδρον

[1] *ἐξηρτημένα* Meziriacus: *ἐξηρτημένων*.
[2] *προσμειδιάσαντ'* Reiske from Herodotus, v. 92: *προσομιλήσαντ'*.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 404 B.
[b] The story is found in Herodotus, v. 92.

to pass by the will of God. "For the body," he continued, "is the soul's instrument, and the soul is God's instrument;[a] and just as the body has many movements of its own, but the most, and most excellent, from the soul, so the soul performs some actions by its own instinct, but in others it yields itself to God's use for Him to direct it and turn it in whatsoever course He may desire, since it is the most adaptable of all instruments. For it is a dreadful mistake to assume that, on the one hand, fire is God's instrument, and wind and water also, and clouds and rain, by means of which He preserves and fosters many a thing, and ruins and destroys many another, but that, on the other hand, He never as yet makes any use whatever of living creatures to accomplish any one of His purposes. Nay, it is far more likely that the living, being dependent on God's power, serve Him and are responsive to His movements even more than bows are responsive to the Scythians or lyres and flutes to the Greeks."

Thereupon the poet Chersias cited, among the cases of persons who had been saved when their plight seemed hopeless, the case of Cypselus,[b] the father of Periander, who, when he was a new-born babe, smiled at the men who had been sent to make away with him, and they turned away. And when again they changed their minds, they sought for him and found him not, for he had been put away in a chest by his mother. It was because of this that Cypselus constructed the building at Delphi, firmly believing that the god had at that time stopped his crying so that he might escape the notice of those who were searching for him.

And Pittacus, addressing Periander, said, "Chersias

(164) "εὖ γ'," ἔφη, "Περίανδρε, Χερσίας ἐποίησε μνησθεὶς τοῦ οἴκου· πολλάκις γὰρ ἐβουλόμην ἐρέσθαι σε τῶν βατράχων τὴν αἰτίαν ἐκείνων, τί βούλονται περὶ τὸν πυθμένα τοῦ φοίνικος ἐντετορευμένοι τοσοῦτοι, καὶ τίνα πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἢ τὸν ἀναθέντα λόγον ἔχουσι."

Τοῦ δὲ Περιάνδρου τὸν Χερσίαν ἐρωτᾶν κελεύσαντος, εἰδέναι γὰρ ἐκεῖνον καὶ παρεῖναι τῷ
B Κυψέλῳ καθιεροῦντι τὸν οἶκον, ὁ Χερσίας μειδιάσας "ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄν," ἔφη, "φράσαιμι πρότερον ἢ πυθέσθαι παρὰ τούτων ὅ τι βούλεται τὸ 'μηδὲν ἄγαν' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ 'γνῶθι σαυτόν,' καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀγάμους πολλοὺς δ' ἀπίστους ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ἀφώνους πεποιηκὸς 'ἐγγύα πάρα δ' ἄτα.'"

"Τί δ'," εἶπεν ὁ Πιττακός, "ἡμῶν δέῃ ταῦτα φραζόντων; πάλαι γὰρ Αἰσώπου λόγον εἰς ἕκαστον ὡς ἔοικε τούτων συντεθεικότος ἐπαινεῖς."

Καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος, "ὅταν γε παίζῃ πρὸς ἐμὲ Χερσίας," εἶπε· "σπουδάζων δὲ τούτων Ὅμηρον εὑρετὴν ἀποδείκνυσι καί φησι τὸν μὲν Ἕκτορα
C γιγνώσκειν ἑαυτόν· τοῖς γὰρ ἄλλοις ἐπιτιθέμενος

Αἴαντος ἀλέεινε μάχην Τελαμωνιάδαο·

τὸν δ' Ὀδυσσέα τοῦ 'μηδὲν ἄγαν' ἐπαινέτην τῷ Διομήδει παρακελεύεσθαι

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[a] The frogs and the palm-tree are mentioned also in *Moralia*, 399 F.

certainly did well to mention the building, for I have often desired, Periander, to ask you the reason for those frogs, and what is their significance, carved as they are in such numbers about the base of the palm-tree,[a] and what relation they have to the god or to the dedicator."

Periander bade him ask Chersias, for Chersias, he said, knew and was present when Cypselus consecrated the building; but Chersias said with a smile, "No, I will not tell until I learn from our friends here what significance they give to the precepts,[b] 'Avoid extremes' and 'Know thyself,' and, in particular, that one which has kept many from marrying, and many from trusting, and some even from speaking, and this is it: 'Give a pledge, and mischief attends.'"

"What need of us to tell you that?" said Pittacus; "since for this long time you have been praising the stories which Aesop has composed touching each of them, as it seems."

And Aesop said, "Only when Chersias is poking fun at me; but when he is serious he points to Homer as their inventor, and says that Hector 'knew himself' because he attacked all the others, but

> Only with Ajax, Telamon's son, he avoided a conflict.[c]

And Odysseus, he says, gives praise to 'Avoid extremes' when he enjoins

[b] For information about these famous precepts reference may be made to Plato, *Protagoras*, p. 343 B, and *Charmides*, p. 165 A; Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 12. 14: Pausanias, x. 24. 1; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 116 C, 385 D, and 511 B, and *De vita et poesi Homeri*, 151.

[c] Homer, *Il.* xi. 542 (*Moralia*, 24 C).

(164) Τυδείδη, μήτ' ἄρ' με μάλ' αἴνεε μήτε τι νείκει.

τὴν δ' ἐγγύην οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι λοιδορεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς πρᾶγμα δείλαιον καὶ μάταιον οἴονται λέγοντα

δειλαί τοι δειλῶν γε καὶ ἐγγύαι ἐγγυάασθαι,

Χερσίας δ' οὑτοσί φησι τὴν Ἄτην ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ῥιφῆναι τῇ ἐγγύῃ παραγιγνομένην ἣν ἐγγυησά-
D μενος ὁ Ζεὺς ἐσφάλη περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους γενέσεως."

Ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὁ Σόλων "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "καὶ τῷ σοφωτάτῳ πιστευτέον[1] Ὁμήρῳ

νὺξ δ' ἤδη τελέθει· ἀγαθὸν καὶ νυκτὶ πιθέσθαι.

σπείσαντες οὖν Μούσαις καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτῃ διαλύωμεν εἰ δοκεῖ τὸ συμπόσιον."

Τοῦτ' ἔσχεν, ὦ Νίκαρχε, πέρας ἡ τότε συνουσία.

[1] πιστευτέον] πειστέον Hatzidakis.

Son of Tydeus, praise me not too much nor chide me.[a]

And as for the pledge, other people think that Homer vilifies it as a worthless and futile thing when he says,

Worthless are pledges of worthless folk to accept at their pledging;[b]

but Chersias here asserts that Mischief was hurled from heaven by Zeus because she was present at the pledge which Zeus gave when he was befooled in regard to the birth of Heracles."[c]

Solon here put in his word: "Well, then, we should have faith in the very great wisdom of Homer who also says,[d]

Night-time advances apace: 'tis well to pay heed to the night-time.

So, if it please the company, let us offer a libation to the Muses and Poseidon and Amphitrite, and be going."

And thus, Nicarchus, the party came to an end.

[a] Homer, *Il.* x. 249 (*Moralia*, 57 E)
[b] Homer, *Od.* viii. 351.
[c] Homer, *Il.* xix. 91-131.
[d] *Ibid.* vii. 282 and 293.

SUPERSTITION
(DE SUPERSTITIONE)

INTRODUCTION

Plutarch's essay on Superstition is, in the main, an attempt to prove that superstition is worse than atheism. Its somewhat impassioned tone savours more of the emotional sermon than of the carefully reasoned discourse, and suggests that it was originally prepared for public presentation.

Wyttenbach was disturbed because in the catalogue of Lamprias, in which this essay is No. 155, the title is given as Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας πρὸς Ἐπίκουρον, and he thought that this title might refer to some other treatise of Plutarch. The explanation is so simple that the only surprising thing is that it should have escaped a man of Wyttenbach's acumen. On the first page of the essay are the words, "the universe . . . atoms and void . . . assumption is false." Then, as now, librarians and reviewers looked at the first page, and reached their conclusions; so it was only natural that the compiler of the catalogue should conclude that the rest of the book was equally hostile to Epicurus. On the other hand, this affords interesting evidence that the compiler of the catalogue of Lamprias probably had a copy of Plutarch's works before him when he drew up his list.

The MS. tradition of this essay is better than of many others, and one MS. (D) has preserved many

excellent readings.[a] Only one passage, a quotation (170 B), presents serious difficulty, and of this Professor Goodwin remarked: "As to the original Greek, hardly a word can be made out with certainty."

Mention should be made of a separate edition and a parallel English translation of this essay in a book entitled "Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας. Plutarchus and Theophrastus on Superstition with various appendices and a life of Plutarchus. Printed A.D. 1828. (Privately) printed by Julian Hibbert . . . Kentish Town." The translation is very literal, but is sometimes an improvement on that of William Baxter in the translation of Plutarch by "Several Hands" (London, 1684–94). Intimate and amusing is the preface of the author, who, in his notes, admits that he has never read Plato, but ends his preface with these words: "I terminate this my Préface by consigning all 'Greek Scholars' to the special care of Beelzebub."

A spirited defence of this essay (if any defence is needed) may be found in John Oakesmith's *The Religion of Plutarch* (London, 1902), chap. ix. pp. 179 ff.

[a] In spite of the fact that Pohlenz in his preface to Vol. I. (Leipzig, 1925) of the *Moralia* (p. xiv) uses these words: "Codicem Paris D e recensione libidinosissima ortum"! Paton, who edited this essay, accepts the readings of D a good part of the time, and his edition would have been more intelligible had he accepted them more often.

E
ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ

1. Τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀγνοίας εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς δίχα ῥυείσης τὸ μὲν ὥσπερ ἐν χωρίοις σκληροῖς τοῖς ἀντιτύποις ἤθεσι τὴν ἀθεότητα, τὸ δ' ὥσπερ ἐν ὑγροῖς τοῖς ἁπαλοῖς τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν πεποίηκεν. ἅπασα μὲν οὖν κρίσις ψευδής, ἄλλως τε κἂν ᾖ περὶ ταῦτα, μοχθηρόν· ᾗ δὲ καὶ πάθος πρόσεστι, μοχθηρότατον. πᾶν γὰρ πάθος
F ἔοικε ἀπάτη φλεγμαίνουσα εἶναι· καὶ καθάπερ αἱ μετὰ τραύματος ἐκβολαὶ τῶν ἄρθρων, οὕτως αἱ μετὰ πάθους διαστροφαὶ τῆς ψυχῆς χαλεπώτεραι.

Ἀτόμους τις οἴεται καὶ κενὸν ἀρχὰς εἶναι τῶν ὅλων· ψευδὴς ἡ ὑπόληψις, ἀλλ' ἕλκος οὐ ποιεῖ οὐδὲ σφυγμὸν οὐδ' ὀδύνην ταράττουσαν.

Ὑπολαμβάνει τις τὸν πλοῦτον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι
165 μέγιστον· τοῦτο τὸ ψεῦδος ἰὸν ἔχει, νέμεται τὴν ψυχήν, ἐξίστησιν, οὐκ ἐᾷ καθεύδειν, οἴστρων ἐμπίπλησιν, ὠθεῖ κατὰ πετρῶν, ἄγχει, τὴν παρρησίαν ἀφαιρεῖται.

Πάλιν οἴονταί τινες εἶναι σῶμα τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν κακίαν· αἰσχρὸν ἴσως τὸ ἀγνόημα, θρήνων

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, chap. lxxv. (p. 706 B) and *Life of Camillus*, chap. vi. (p. 132 C).

[b] Aimed at the theories of Epicurus, and possibly of Democritus.

SUPERSTITION

1. IGNORANCE and blindness in regard to the gods divides itself at the very beginning into two streams, of which the one produces in hardened characters, as it were in stubborn soils, atheism, and the other in tender characters, as in moist soils, produces superstition.[a] Every false judgement, and especially concerning these matters, is a mischievous thing; but where emotion also enters, it is most mischievous. For every emotion is likely to be a delusion that rankles; and just as dislocations of the joints accompanied by lacerations are hardest to deal with, so also is it with derangements of the soul accompanied by emotion.

A man thinks that in the beginning the universe was created out of atoms and void.[b] His assumption is false, but it causes no sore, no throbbing, no agitating pain.

A man assumes that wealth is the greatest good. This falsehood contains venom, it feeds upon his soul, distracts him, does not allow him to sleep, fills him with stinging desires, pushes him over precipices, chokes him, and takes from him his freedom of speech.

Again, some people think that virtue and vice are corporeal.[c] This piece of ignorance is disgraceful,

[c] Aimed at the Stoics, who referred all qualities to the body. *Cf.* Plutarch, *Moralia*, 1084 A.

(165) δὲ καὶ ὀδυρμῶν οὐκ ἄξιον· ἀλλ' αἵτινές εἰσι τοιαῦται κρίσεις καὶ ὑπολήψεις

> ὦ τλῆμον ἀρετή, λόγος ἄρ' ἦσθ'· ἐγὼ δέ σε
> ὡς ἔργον ἤσκουν[a]

ἀφεὶς τὴν πλουτοποιὸν ἀδικίαν καὶ τὴν γόνιμον ἁπάσης ἡδονῆς ἀκολασίαν, ταύτας ἄξιόν ἐστιν
B οἰκτίρειν ὁμοῦ καὶ δυσχεραίνειν, ὅτι πολλὰ νοσήματα καὶ πάθη καθάπερ εὐλὰς καὶ σκώληκας ἐντίκτουσι ταῖς ψυχαῖς παροῦσαι.

2. Οὐκοῦν καὶ περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος, ἡ μὲν ἀθεότης κρίσις οὖσα φαύλη τοῦ μηδὲν εἶναι μακάριον καὶ ἄφθαρτον εἰς ἀπάθειάν τινα δοκεῖ τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ τοῦ θείου περιφέρειν, καὶ τέλος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τοῦ μὴ νομίζειν θεοὺς τὸ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι· τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν δὲ μηνύει καὶ τοὔνομα δόξαν ἐμπαθῆ καὶ δέους ποιητικὴν ὑπόληψιν οὖσαν ἐκταπεινοῦντος καὶ συντρίβοντος τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οἰόμενον μὲν εἶναι θεούς, εἶναι δὲ λυπηροὺς καὶ βλαβερούς. ἔοικε
C γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἄθεος ἀκίνητος εἶναι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων κινούμενος ὡς οὐ προσήκει διαστρέφεσθαι. ἡ γὰρ ἄγνοια τῷ μὲν ἀπιστίαν τοῦ ὠφελοῦντος ἐμπεποίηκε, τῷ δὲ καὶ δόξαν ὅτι βλάπτει προστέθεικεν. ὅθεν ἡ μὲν ἀθεότης λόγος ἐστὶ διεψευσμένος, ἡ δὲ δεισιδαιμονία πάθος ἐκ λόγου ψευδοῦς ἐγγεγενημένον.

3. Αἰσχρὰ μὲν δὴ πάντα τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς νοσήματα καὶ πάθη, τὸ δὲ γαῦρον ἐνίοις ὅμως καὶ ὑψηλὸν

[a] Author unknown; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 910, Adespota, No. 374.

perhaps, but it is not worthy of wailings or lamentations. But consider judgements and assumptions that are like this:

> Poor virtue! A mere name thou art, I find,
> But I did practise thee as real! [a]

and thereby I gave up wrongdoing which is productive of wealth, and licentiousness which begets every sort of pleasure. These it is right and proper that we pity, and at the same time loathe, because their presence engenders many distempers and emotions, like maggots and grubs, in men's souls.

2. To come now to our subject: atheism, which is a sorry judgement that there is nothing blessed or incorruptible, seems, by disbelief in the Divinity, to lead finally to a kind of utter indifference, and the end which it achieves in not believing in the existence of gods is not to fear them. But, on the other hand, superstition, as the very name (dread of deities) indicates, is an emotional idea and an assumption productive of a fear which utterly humbles and crushes a man, for he thinks that there are gods, but that they are the cause of pain and injury. In fact, the atheist, apparently, is unmoved regarding the Divinity, whereas the superstitious man is moved as he ought not to be, and his mind is thus perverted. For in the one man ignorance engenders disbelief in the One who can help him, and on the other it bestows the added idea that He causes injury. Whence it follows that atheism is falsified reason, and superstition is an emotion engendered from false reason.

3. Clear it is that all distempers and emotions of the soul are disgraceful, but in some of them are to

(165) *καὶ διηρμένον ἔνεστιν ὑπὸ κουφότητος, δραστηρίου δ' ὁρμῆς οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀπεστέρηται. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κοινὸν ἔγκλημα παντὸς πάθους ἐστίν, ὅτι ταῖς πρακτικαῖς ὁρμαῖς ἐκβιαζόμενα*
D *κατεπείγει καὶ συντείνει τὸν λογισμόν. μόνος δ' ὁ φόβος, οὐχ ἧττον ὢν τόλμης ἐνδεὴς ἢ λογισμοῦ, ἄπρακτον ἔχει καὶ ἄπορον καὶ ἀμήχανον τὸ ἀλόγιστον. ᾗ καὶ δεῖμα καὶ τάρβος αὐτοῦ τὸ συνδέον ὁμοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ταράττον ὠνόμασται.*

Φόβων δὲ πάντων ἀπρακτότατος καὶ ἀπορώτατος ὁ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας. οὐ φοβεῖται θάλατταν ὁ μὴ πλέων οὐδὲ πόλεμον ὁ μὴ στρατευόμενος, οὐδὲ λῃστὰς ὁ οἰκουρῶν οὐδὲ συκοφάντην ὁ πένης οὐδὲ φθόνον ὁ ἰδιώτης, οὐδὲ σεισμὸν ὁ ἐν Γαλάταις οὐδὲ κεραυνὸν ὁ ἐν Αἰθίοψιν· ὁ δὲ θεοὺς δεδιὼς πάντα
E *δέδιε, γῆν θάλατταν ἀέρα οὐρανὸν σκότος φῶς κληδόνα σιωπὴν ὄνειρον.*[1] *οἱ δοῦλοι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπιλανθάνονται καθεύδοντες, τοῖς πεδήταις ἐπελαφρύνει τὸν δεσμὸν ὁ ὕπνος, φλεγμοναὶ περὶ τραύματα καὶ νομαὶ σαρκὸς θηριώδεις καὶ περιωδυνίαι κοιμωμένων ἀφίστανται·*

ὦ φίλον ὕπνου θέλγητρον ἐπίκουρον νόσου,
ὡς ἡδύ μοι προσῆλθες ἐν δέοντί γε.

τοῦτ' οὐ δίδωσιν εἰπεῖν ἡ δεισιδαιμονία (μόνη γὰρ

[1] *ὄνειρον*] *ὕπαρ ὄνειρον* Bywater.

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[a] The derivations of "terror" from "tie," and "awe" from "awake" are not more fanciful than those in which Plutarch indulges.

be found pride, loftiness, and exaltation, owing to their uplifting power; and no one of them, we might say, is destitute of an impulse to activity. But this general complaint may be made against every one of the emotions, that by their urgings to be up and doing they press hard upon the reasoning power and strain it. But fear alone, lacking no less in boldness than in power to reason, keeps its irrationality impotent, helpless, and hopeless. It is on this ground that the power of fear to tie down the soul, and at the same time to keep it awake, has come to be named both terror and awe.[a]

Of all kinds of fear the most impotent and helpless is superstitious fear. No fear of the sea has he who does not sail upon it, nor of war he who does not serve in the army, nor of highwaymen he who stays at home, nor of a blackmailer he who is poor, nor of envy he who holds no office, nor of earthquake he who is in Gaul,[b] nor of the lightning-stroke he who is in Ethiopia; but he who fears the gods fears all things, earth and sea, air and sky, darkness and light, sound and silence, and a dream. Slaves in their sleep forget their masters, sleep makes light the chains of prisoners, and the inflammations surrounding wounds, the savage gnawing of ulcers in the flesh, and tormenting pains are removed from those who are fallen asleep:

> Dear soothing balm of sleep to help my ill,
> How sweet thy coming in mine hour of need.[c]

Superstition does not give one a right to say this;

[b] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, iii. 7, and Pliny, *Natural History*, ii. 80 (195).

[c] Euripides, *Orestes*, 211-12.

*οὐ σπένδεται πρὸς τὸν ὕπνον, οὐδὲ τῇ ψυχῇ ποτε
γοῦν δίδωσιν ἀναπνεῦσαι καὶ ἀναθαρρῆσαι τὰς πι-*
F *κρὰς καὶ βαρείας περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξας ἀπωσαμένῃ),
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν ἀσεβῶν χώρῳ τῷ ὕπνῳ τῶν δεισι-
δαιμόνων εἴδωλα φρικώδη καὶ τεράστια φάσματα
καὶ ποινάς τινας ἐγείρουσα καὶ στροβοῦσα τὴν
ἀθλίαν ψυχὴν ἐκδιώκει τοῖς ὀνείροις ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων,
μαστιζομένην καὶ κολαζομένην αὐτὴν ὑφ' αὑτῆς
ὡς ὑφ' ἑτέρου, καὶ δεινὰ προστάγματα καὶ ἀλ-
λόκοτα λαμβάνουσαν. εἶτ' ἐξαναστάντες οὐ κατ-
εφρόνησαν οὐδὲ κατεγέλασαν, οὐδ' ᾔσθοντο ὅτι
τῶν ταραξάντων οὐδὲν ἦν ἀληθινόν, ἀλλὰ σκιὰν*
166 *φεύγοντες ἀπάτης οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐχούσης ὕπαρ
ἐξαπατῶσιν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ δαπανῶσι καὶ ταράττου-
σιν, εἰς ἀγύρτας καὶ γόητας ἐμπεσόντες λέγοντας*

ἀλλ' εἴτ' ἔνυπνον φάντασμα φοβῇ,
χθονίας θ' Ἑκάτης κῶμον ἐδέξω,

*τὴν περιμάκτριαν κάλει γραῦν καὶ βάπτισον σεαυ-
τὸν εἰς θάλατταν καὶ καθίσας ἐν τῇ γῇ διημέρευσον.*

ὦ βάρβαρ' ἐξευρόντες Ἕλληνες κακά

*τῇ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ, πηλώσεις καταβορβορώσεις βα-
πτισμούς,*[1] *ῥίψεις ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, αἰσχρὰς προ-
καθίσεις, ἀλλοκότους προσκυνήσεις. δικαίῳ τῷ
στόματι τοὺς κιθαρῳδοὺς ἐκέλευον ᾄδειν οἱ τὴν*
B *νόμιμον μουσικὴν σῴζειν δοκοῦντες· ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῖς*

[1] *βαπτισμοὺς* Bentley: *σαββατισμούς*.

[a] Author unknown; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 910, Adespota. No. 375.
[b] Euripides, *The Trojan Women*, 764.

for superstition alone makes no truce with sleep, and never gives the soul a chance to recover its breath and courage by putting aside its bitter and despondent notions regarding God; but, as it were in the place of torment of the impious, so in the sleep of the superstitious their malady calls up fearful images, and horrible apparitions and divers forms of punishment, and, by keeping the unhappy soul on the rack, chases it away from sleep by its dreams, lashed and punished by its own self as if by another, and forced to comply with dreadful and extraordinary behests. When, later, such persons arise from their beds, they do not contemn nor ridicule these things, nor realize that not one of the things that agitated them was really true, but, trying to escape the shadow of a delusion that has nothing bad at the bottom, during their waking hours they delude and waste and agitate themselves, putting themselves into the hands of conjurors and impostors who say to them:

> If a vision in sleep is the cause of your fear
> And the troop of dire Hecate felt to be near,[a]

then call in the old crone who performs magic purifications, dip yourself in the ocean, and sit down on the ground and spend the whole day there.

> Greeks from barbarians finding evil ways![b]

because of superstition, such as smearing with mud, wallowing in filth, immersions, casting oneself down with face to the ground, disgraceful besieging of the gods, and uncouth prostrations. "To sing with the mouth aright" was the injunction given to the harp-players by those who thought to preserve the good old forms of music; and we hold it to be

(166) θεοῖς ἀξιοῦμεν ὀρθῷ τῷ στόματι καὶ δικαίῳ προσεύχεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων μὲν γλῶτταν εἰ καθαρὰ καὶ ὀρθὴ σκοπεῖν, τὴν δ' ἑαυτῶν διαστρέφοντας καὶ μολύνοντας ἀτόποις ὀνόμασι καὶ ῥήμασι βαρβαρικοῖς καταισχύνειν καὶ παρανομεῖν τὸ[1] θεῖον καὶ πάτριον ἀξίωμα τῆς εὐσεβείας.

Ἀλλ' ὅ γε κωμικὸς οὐκ ἀηδῶς εἴρηκέ που πρὸς τοὺς καταχρυσοῦντας τὰ κλινίδια καὶ καταργυροῦντας

ὅ τι μόνον ἡμῖν προῖκ' ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ[2]
ὕπνον,[3] τί τοῦτο πολυτελὲς σαυτῷ[4] ποιεῖς;

C ἔστι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν δεισιδαίμονα εἰπεῖν, "ὅ τι τὸν ὕπνον οἱ θεοὶ λήθην κακῶν ἔδοσαν ἡμῖν καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν, τί τοῦτο κολαστήριον σαυτῷ ποιεῖς ἐπίμονον καὶ ὀδυνηρόν, τῆς ἀθλίας ψυχῆς εἰς ἄλλον ὕπνον[5] ἀποδρᾶναι μὴ δυναμένης;" ὁ Ἡράκλειτός φησι τοῖς ἐγρηγορόσιν ἕνα καὶ κοινὸν κόσμον εἶναι, τῶν δὲ κοιμωμένων ἕκαστον εἰς ἴδιον ἀναστρέφεσθαι. τῷ δὲ δεισιδαίμονι κοινὸς οὐδείς ἐστι κόσμος· οὔτε γὰρ ἐγρηγορὼς τῷ φρονοῦντι χρῆται οὔτε κοιμώμενος ἀπαλλάττεται τοῦ ταράττοντος, ἀλλ' ὀνειρώττει μὲν ὁ λογισμός, ἐγρήγορε δ' ὁ φόβος ἀεί, φυγὴ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ μετάστασις.

4. Ἦν φοβερὸς ἐν Σάμῳ Πολυκράτης τύραννος, ἦν ἐν Κορίνθῳ Περίανδρος, ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἐφοβεῖτο D τούτους μεταστὰς εἰς πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ δημοκρατουμένην. ὁ δὲ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἀρχὴν ὡς τυ-

[1] τὸ] εἰς τὸ Hercher.
[2] ἡμῖν . . . θεοὶ Meineke: ἔδωκαν ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ προῖκα.
[3] ὕπνον F.C.B.: τὸν ὕπνον.
[4] σαυτῷ Meineke: σεαυτῷ.
[5] ὕπνον] τόπον Hercher.

meet to pray to the gods with the mouth straight and aright, and not to inspect the tongue laid upon the sacrificial offering to see that it be clean and straight, and, at the same time, by distorting and sullying one's own tongue with strange names and barbarous phrases, to disgrace and transgress the god-given ancestral dignity of our religion.

Nor is there lack of humour in what the comic poet[a] has somewhere said with reference to those who cover their bedsteads with gold and silver:

> The one free gift the gods bestow on us,
> Our sleep, why make its cost to you so much?

But to the superstitious man it is possible to say, "The gift of sleep which the gods bestow on us as a time of forgetfulness and respite from our ills; why do you make this an everlastingly painful torture-chamber for yourself, since your unhappy soul cannot run away to some other sleep?" Heracleitus[b] says that people awake enjoy one world in common, but of those who are fallen asleep each roams about in a world of his own. But the superstitious man enjoys no world in common with the rest of mankind; for neither when awake does he use his intelligence, nor when fallen asleep is he freed from his agitation, but his reasoning power is sunk in dreams, his fear is ever wakeful, and there is no way of escape or removal.

4. A despot much feared in Samos was Polycrates, as was Periander in Corinth, but nobody feared these men after he had removed to a free State governed by its own people. But as for the man who fears

[a] Probably some poet of the new Comedy; *cf.* Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 438.

[b] Diels, *Fragmenta der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 95.

(166) ραννίδα φοβούμενος σκυθρωπὴν καὶ ἀπαραίτητον ποῦ μεταστῇ ποῦ φύγῃ, ποίαν γῆν ἄθεον εὕρῃ, ποίαν θάλατταν; εἰς τί καταδὺς τοῦ κόσμου μέρος καὶ ἀποκρύψας σεαυτόν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε, πιστεύσεις ὅτι τὸν θεὸν ἀποπέφευγας; ἔστι καὶ δούλοις νόμος ἐλευθερίαν ἀπογνοῦσι πρᾶσιν αἰτεῖσθαι καὶ δεσπότην μεταβάλλειν ἐπιεικέστερον· ἡ δὲ δεισιδαιμονία θεῶν ἀλλαγὴν οὐ δίδωσιν, οὐδ' ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ὃν οὐ φοβήσεται θεὸν ὁ φοβούμενος τοὺς πατρῴους καὶ γενεθλίους, ὁ φρίττων τοὺς σωτῆρας καὶ τοὺς
E μειλιχίους τρέμων καὶ δεδοικώς, παρ' ὧν αἰτούμεθα πλοῦτον εὐπορίαν εἰρήνην ὁμόνοιαν ὄρθωσιν λόγων καὶ ἔργων τῶν ἀρίστων.

Εἶθ' οὗτοι τὸ δουλεύειν ἀτύχημα ἡγοῦνται καὶ λέγουσι

> δεινή τις ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ συμφορὰ
> δούλους γενέσθαι δεσπότας τε δυσχερεῖς[1]
> λαβεῖν·

πόσῳ δὲ δεινότερον οἴεσθε πάσχειν αὖ τοὺς[2] ἀνεκφεύκτους ἀναποδράστους ἀναποστάτους[3]; ἔστι δούλῳ φεύξιμος βωμός, ἔστι καὶ λῃσταῖς ἀβέβηλα πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν, καὶ πολεμίους οἱ φεύγοντες, ἂν ἀγάλματος λάβωνται ἢ ναοῦ, θαρροῦσιν· ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων ταῦτα μάλιστα φρίττει καὶ φοβεῖται καὶ δέδοικεν, ἐν οἷς οἱ φοβούμενοι τὰ δεινότατα τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσι. μὴ ἀπόσπα τὸν

[1] δυσχερεῖς Valckenaer: δυστυχεῖς.
[2] αὖ τοὺς F.C.B.: αὐτοὺς, omitted in many MSS.
[3] Bernardakis would add λαμβάνοντας after ἀναποστάτους.

[a] From an unknown tragic poet; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 910, Adespota, No. 376.

the rule of the gods as a sullen and inexorable despotism, where can he remove himself, where can he flee, what country can he find without gods, or what sea? Into what part of the universe shall you steal away and hide yourself, poor wretch, and believe that you have escaped God? There is a law even for slaves who have given up all hope of freedom, that they may demand a sale, and thus exchange their present master for one more mild. But superstition grants no such exchange; and to find a god whom he shall not fear is impossible for him who fears the gods of his fathers and his kin, who shudders at his saviours, and trembles with terror at those gentle gods from whom we ask wealth, welfare, peace, concord, and success in our best efforts in speech and action.

Then again these same persons hold slavery to be a misfortune, and say,

> For man or woman 'tis disaster dire
> Sudden to be enslaved, and masters harsh
> To get.[a]

But how much more dire, think you, is the lot of those for whom there is no escape, no running away, no chance to revolt? For a slave there is an altar to which he can flee, and there are many of our shrines where even robbers may find sanctuary, and men who are fleeing from the enemy, if once they lay hold upon a statue of a god, or a temple, take courage again. These are the very things that most inspire a shuddering fear and dread in the superstitious man, and yet it is in them that those who are in fear of the most dreadful fate place their hopes. Do not drag the superstitious man

F δεισιδαίμονα τῶν ἱερῶν· ἐνταῦθα κολάζεται καὶ τιμωρεῖται.

Τί δεῖ μακρὰ λέγειν; "πέρας ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁ θάνατος,[1]" τῆς δὲ δεισιδαιμονίας οὐδ' οὗτος, ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλει τοὺς ὅρους ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ζῆν, μακρότερον τοῦ βίου ποιοῦσα τὸν φόβον καὶ συνάπτουσα τῷ θανάτῳ κακῶν ἐπίνοιαν ἀθανάτων, καὶ ὅτε παύεται πραγμάτων,
167 ἄρχεσθαι δοκοῦσα μὴ παυομένων. Ἅιδου τινὲς ἀνοίγονται πύλαι βαθεῖαι, καὶ ποταμοὶ πυρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ Στυγὸς ἀπορρῶγες ἀνακεράννυνται, καὶ σκότος ἐμπίπλαται πολυφαντάστων[2] εἰδώλων τινῶν χαλεπὰς μὲν ὄψεις οἰκτρὰς δὲ φωνὰς ἐπιφερόντων, δικασταὶ δὲ καὶ κολασταὶ καὶ χάσματα καὶ μυχοὶ μυρίων κακῶν γέμοντες. οὕτως ἡ κακοδαίμων δεισιδαιμονία τῇ περιττῇ πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ δοκοῦν δεινὸν εὐλαβείᾳ λανθάνει ἑαυτὴν ὑποβάλλουσα παντοίοις δεινοῖς.[3]

5. Τούτων οὐδὲν τῇ ἀθεότητι πρόσεστιν, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἄγνοια χαλεπὴ καὶ τὸ παρορᾶν καὶ τυφλώτ-
B τειν περὶ τηλικαῦτα συμφορὰ μεγάλη ψυχῆς, ὥσπερ ὀμμάτων πολλῶν τὸ φανότατον καὶ κυριώτατον ἀπεσβεσμένης τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ νόησιν. ταύτῃ δὲ τὸ ἐμπαθές, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καὶ ἑλκῶδες καὶ ταρακτικὸν καὶ καταδεδουλωμένον εὐθὺς πρόσεστι τῇ δόξῃ. μουσικήν φησιν ὁ Πλάτων ἐμμελείας καὶ εὐρυθμίας

[1] ὁ θάνατος] θάνατος in the better MSS. of Demosthenes, xviii. 97.

[2] πολυφαντάστων Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, ed. Meineke, vol. iv. p. 245: πολυφάνταστον.

[3] τῇ περίττῃ κτλ.] This is the reading of D: other MSS. have καὶ θεῷ τὸ (or τῷ) μὴ παθεῖν ἐκπεπέφυγεν ἀφυλάκτῳ προσδοκᾶν αὐτῇ πεποίηκε.

away from his shrines, for it is in them that he suffers punishment and retribution.

What need to speak at length? "In death is the end of life for all men,"[a] but not the end of superstition; for superstition transcends the limits of life into the far beyond, making fear to endure longer than life, and connecting with death the thought of undying evils, and holding fast to the opinion, at the moment of ceasing from trouble, that now is the beginning of those that never cease. The abysmal gates of the nether world swing open, rivers of fire and offshoots of the Styx are mingled together, darkness is crowded with spectres of many fantastic shapes which beset their victim with grim visages and piteous voices, and, besides these, judges and torturers and yawning gulfs and deep recesses teeming with unnumbered woes. Thus unhappy superstition, by its excess of caution in trying to avoid everything suggestive of dread, unwittingly subjects itself to every sort of dread.

5. Nothing of this kind attaches to atheism, but its ignorance is distressing, and to see amiss or not to see at all in matters of such importance is a great misfortune for the soul; for it is as if the soul had suffered the extinction of the brightest and most dominant of its many eyes, the conception of God. But superstition is attended by emotion, as has already been said,[b] and by sore distress and disturbance and mental enslavement from the very beginning. Plato [c] says that music, the creator of

[a] From Demosthenes, Or. xviii. (*On the Crown*), 97; quoted again in *Moralia*, 333 C.

[b] *Supra*, 165 B.

[c] Adapted freely from the *Timaeus*, p. 47 D.

(167) δημιουργὸν ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ θεῶν οὐ τρυφῆς ἕνεκα καὶ κνήσεως ὤτων δοθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὥστε τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς περιόδων καὶ ἁρμονιῶν τὸ ταραχῶδες καὶ πεπλανημένον ἐν σώματι, μούσης τε καὶ χάριτος ἐνδείᾳ πολλαχῇ δι' ἀκολασίαν καὶ πλημμέλειαν ἐξυ-
C βρίζον, αὖθις εἰς τάξιν ἀνελίττουσαν οἰκείως καὶ περιάγουσαν καθιστάναι.[1]

"ὅσσα δὲ μὴ πεφίληκε Ζεύς," φησὶ Πίνδαρος,
"ἀτύζονται βοὰν
Πιερίδων ἀίοντα·"[a]

καὶ γὰρ διαγριαίνεται καὶ ἀγανακτεῖ, καὶ τὰς τίγρεις δέ φασι περιτυμπανιζομένας ἐκμαίνεσθαι καὶ ταράττεσθαι καὶ τέλος αὑτὰς διασπᾶν.[b] ἔλαττον οὖν κακὸν οἷς διὰ κωφότητα καὶ πήρωσιν ἀκοῆς ἀπάθεια πρὸς μουσικὴν καὶ ἀναισθησία συμβέβηκεν. ὁ Τειρεσίας ἐχρῆτο δυστυχίᾳ μὴ βλέπων τὰ τέκνα μηδὲ τοὺς συνήθεις, ὁ δ' Ἀθάμας μείζονι καὶ ἡ Ἀγαύη, βλέποντες ὡς λέοντας καὶ
D ἐλάφους· καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ δήπου μανέντι τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐλυσιτέλει μήτ' ἰδεῖν μήτ' αἰσθέσθαι παρόντας ἢ χρῆσθαι τοῖς φιλτάτοις ὡς πολεμίοις.[c]

6. Τί οὖν; οὐ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀθέων πρὸς τοὺς δεισιδαίμονας πάθος ἔχειν τοιαύτην διαφοράν; οἱ μὲν[2] οὐχ ὁρῶσι τοὺς θεοὺς τὸ παράπαν, οἱ δὲ κακοὺς ὑπάρχειν νομίζουσιν· οἱ μὲν παρορῶσιν, οἱ δὲ δοξάζουσι φοβερὸν τὸ εὐμενὲς καὶ τυραννικὸν

[1] καθιστάναι Hercher: καθιστᾶν or παρεῖναι.
[2] μὲν Wyttenbach: μὲν οὖν.

[a] *Pythian Odes*, i. 13 (25); quoted also in *Moralia*, 746 B and 1095 E.
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 144 D.
[c] All these were victims of a god-sent madness.

harmony and order, was given to mankind by the gods not for the sake of pampering them or tickling their ears, but so that whatever in a man's body is disturbing and errant, affecting the cycles and concords of his soul, and in many instances, for lack of culture and refinement, waxing wanton because of licentiousness and error, music should, in its own way, disengage and bring round and restore to its proper place again.

> Whatsoever things there be
> Which by Zeus are not held dear,

says Pindar,[a]

> In affrighted panic flee
> When the Muses' voice they hear.

In fact they become provoked and angry: and tigers, they say, surrounded by the sound of beaten drums go utterly mad, and get so excited that they end by tearing themselves to pieces.[b] There is less harm, therefore, for those who, as the result of deafness or impairment of hearing, have a feeling of indifference and insensibility toward music. Teiresias laboured under a misfortune in not being able to see his children or his intimate friends, but greater was the misfortune of Athamas[c] and Agave,[c] who saw them as lions and deer; and for Heracles[c] in his madness it would undoubtedly have been better neither to see his sons, nor to realize that they were present, than to treat his nearest and dearest as enemies.

6. What then? Does it not seem to you that the feeling of the atheists compared with the superstitious presents just such a difference? The former do not see the gods at all, the latter think that they do exist and are evil. The former disregard them, the latter conceive their kindliness to be frightful,

(167) τὸ πατρικὸν καὶ βλαβερὸν τὸ κηδεμονικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀμήνιτον[1] ἄγριον εἶναι καὶ θηριῶδες. εἶτα χαλκοτύποις μὲν πείθονται καὶ λιθοξόοις καὶ κηροπλάσταις ἀνθρωπόμορφα τῶν θεῶν τὰ εἴδη ποιοῦσι,[2]
E καὶ τοιαῦτα πλάττουσι καὶ κατασκευάζουσι καὶ προσκυνοῦσι· φιλοσόφων δὲ καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν καταφρονοῦσιν, ἀποδεικνύντων τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σεμνότητα μετὰ χρηστότητος καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ εὐμενείας καὶ κηδεμονίας. περίεστιν οὖν τοῖς μὲν ἀναισθησία καὶ ἀπιστία τῶν ὠφελούντων, τοῖς δὲ ταραχὴ καὶ φόβος πρὸς τὰ ὠφελοῦντα. καὶ ὅλως ἡ μὲν ἀθεότης ἀπάθεια πρὸς τὸ θεῖόν ἐστι μὴ νοοῦσα τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἡ δὲ δεισιδαιμονία πολυπάθεια κακὸν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὑπονοοῦσα. φοβοῦνται τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεούς, κολακεύουσι καὶ λοιδοροῦσιν, εὔχονται καὶ καταμέμ-
F φονται. κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὴ πάντα διευτυχεῖν.

κεῖνοι γάρ τ'[3] ἄνοσοι καὶ ἀγήραοι
πόνων τ' ἄπειροι, βαρυβόαν
πορθμὸν πεφευγότες Ἀχέροντος,

ὁ Πίνδαρος θεούς φησι, τὰ δ' ἀνθρώπινα πάθη καὶ πράγματα μέμικται συντυχίαις ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως ῥεούσαις.

7. Φέρε δὴ πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις σκόπει τὸν ἄθεον καὶ καταμάνθανε τὴν διάθεσιν, ἂν ᾖ τἆλλα μέτριος, χρωμένου σιωπῇ τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ

[1] ἀμήνιτον Meziriacus, Reiske, and Wyttenbach: ἄμικτον or ἀμίμητον. *Cf. Moralia*, 413 D.
[2] τὰ εἴδη ποιοῦσι] τὰ σώματα εἶναι in most MSS.
[3] γάρ τ' *Moralia*, 1075 A: γάρ.

[a] Or, as given in most MSS., "that the bodies of the gods are like the bodies of men."

their fatherly solicitude to be despotic, their loving care to be injurious, their slowness to anger to be savage and brutal. Then again such persons give credence to workers in metal stone, or wax, who make their images of gods in the likeness of human beings,[a] and they have such images fashioned, and dress them up, and worship them. But they hold in contempt philosophers and statesmen, who try to prove that the majesty of God is associated with goodness, magnanimity, kindliness, and solicitude. So the atheists have more than enough of indifference and distrust of the Beings who can help them, whereas the superstitious experience equal agitation and fear towards the things that can help them. Or, in fine, atheism is an indifferent feeling towards the Deity, which has no notion of the good, and superstition is a multitude of differing feelings with an underlying notion that the good is evil. For the superstitious fear the gods, and flee to the gods for help; they flatter them and assail them with abuse, pray to them and blame them. It is the common lot of mankind not to enjoy continual good fortune in all things.

> Age and illness not their lot,
> Toil and labour they know not,
> 'Scaped is Acheron's loud strait,

says Pindar [b] of the gods, but human experiences and actions are linked with chance circumstances which move now in one course and now in another.

7. Come now, observe the atheist in circumstances not desired by him, and take note of his attitude. If he be moderate in general, you will note that he takes

[b] *Frag.* 143 (ed. Christ). Cited by Plutarch again in *Moralia*, 763 C and 1075 A.

πορίζοντος αὐτῷ βοηθείας καὶ παρηγορίας, ἂν δὲ δυσφορῇ καὶ περιπαθῇ, πάντας ἐπὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ
168 τὸ αὐτόματον ἀπερειδομένου τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς καὶ βοῶντος ὡς οὐδὲν κατὰ δίκην οὐδ' ἐκ προνοίας ἀλλὰ πάντα συγκεχυμένως καὶ ἀκρίτως φέρεται καὶ ταράττεται[1] τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τοῦ δὲ δεισιδαίμονος οὐχ οὗτος ὁ τρόπος, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μικρότατον αὐτῷ κακόν τι συμπεπτωκός ἐστιν, ἄλλα κάθηται πάθη χαλεπὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ δυσαπάλλακτα τῇ λύπῃ προσοικοδομῶν, καὶ προσεμφορῶν αὐτῷ δείματα καὶ φόβους καὶ ὑποψίας καὶ ταραχάς, παντὶ θρήνῳ καὶ παντὶ στεναγμῷ καθαπτόμενος· οὔτε γὰρ ἄνθρωπον οὔτε τύχην οὔτε καιρὸν οὔθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀλλὰ πάντων τὸν θεὸν
B αἰτιᾶται, κἀκεῖθεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἥκειν καὶ φέρεσθαι ῥεῦμα δαιμόνιον ἄτης φησί, καὶ ὡς οὐ δυστυχὴς ὢν ἀλλὰ θεομισής τις ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν κολάζεσθαι καὶ δίκην διδόναι καὶ πάντα πάσχειν προσηκόντως δι' αὐτὸν οἴεται.

Νοσῶν θ' ὁ ἄθεος ἐκλογίζεται καὶ ἀναμιμνήσκεται πλησμονὰς αὑτοῦ καὶ οἰνώσεις καὶ ἀταξίας περὶ δίαιταν ἢ κόπους ὑπερβάλλοντας ἢ μεταβολὰς ἀέρων ἀήθεις καὶ τόπων, ἔπειτα προσκρούσας ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ περιπεσὼν ἀδοξίαις πρὸς ὄχλον

[1] ταράττεται Wyttenbach: πράττεται or σπαθᾶται, which seems dubious: διασπᾶται?

his present fortune without a word, and tries to procure for himself means of help and comfort; but if he be given to impatience or violent emotion, you will note that he directs all his complaints against Fortune and Chance, and exclaims that nothing comes about according to right or as the result of providence, but that the course of all human affairs is confusion and disorder, and that they are all being turned topsy-turvy. This, however, is not the way of the superstitious man; but if even the slightest ill befall him, he sits down and proceeds to construct, on the basis of his trouble, a fabric of harsh, momentous, and practically unavoidable experiences which he must undergo, and he also loads himself with fears and frights, suspicions and trepidations, and all this he bitterly assails with every sort of lamentation and moaning. For he puts the responsibility for his lot upon no man nor upon Fortune nor upon occasion nor upon himself, but lays the responsibility for everything upon God, and says that from that source a heaven-sent stream of mischief has come upon him with full force; and he imagines that it is not because he is unlucky, but because he is hateful to the gods, that he is being punished by the gods, and that the penalty he pays and all that he is undergoing are deserved because of his own conduct.

The atheist, when he is ill, takes into account and calls to mind the times when he has eaten too much or drunk too much wine, also irregularities in his daily life, or instances of over-fatigue or unaccustomed changes of air or locality; and again when he has given offence in administering office, and has encountered disrepute with the masses or calumny with

(168) ἢ διαβολαῖς πρὸς ἡγεμόνα τὴν αἰτίαν ἐξ αὑτοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν σκοπεῖ

πῆ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη;

τῷ δὲ δεισιδαίμονι καὶ σώματος ἀρρωστία πᾶσα
C καὶ χρημάτων ἀποβολὴ καὶ τέκνων θάνατοι καὶ περὶ πολιτικὰς πράξεις δυσημερίαι καὶ ἀποτεύξεις πληγαὶ θεοῦ καὶ προσβολαὶ δαίμονος λέγονται. ὅθεν οὐδὲ τολμᾷ βοηθεῖν οὐδὲ διαλύειν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς οὐδὲ θεραπεύειν οὐδ' ἀντιτάττεσθαι, μὴ δόξῃ θεομαχεῖν καὶ ἀντιτείνειν κολαζόμενος, ἀλλ' ὠθεῖται μὲν ἔξω νοσοῦντος ὁ ἰατρός, ἀποκλείεται δὲ πενθοῦντος ὁ νουθετῶν καὶ παραμυθούμενος φιλόσοφος. "ἔα με," φησίν, "ἄνθρωπε, διδόναι δίκην, τὸν ἀσεβῆ, τὸν ἐπάρατον, τὸν θεοῖς καὶ δαίμοσι μεμισημένον."

D Ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου μὴ πεπεισμένου θεοὺς εἶναι λυπουμένου δ' ἄλλως καὶ περιπαθοῦντος ἀπομάξαι δάκρυον, ἀποκεῖραι κόμην, ἀφελέσθαι τὸ ἱμάτιον· τὸν δὲ δεισιδαίμονα πῶς ἂν προσείποις ἢ πῇ[1] βοηθήσεις; ἔξω κάθηται σακκίον ἔχων καὶ περιεζωσμένος ῥάκεσι ῥυπαροῖς, πολλάκις δὲ γυμνὸς ἐν πηλῷ κυλινδούμενος ἐξαγορεύει τινὰς ἁμαρτίας αὑτοῦ καὶ πλημμελείας, ὡς τόδε φαγόντος ἢ πιόντος ἢ βαδίσαντος ὁδὸν ἣν οὐκ εἴα τὸ δαιμόνιον. ἂν δ' ἄριστα πράττῃ καὶ συνῇ πράως[2] δεισιδαι-

[1] πῇ] ποῦ most MSS.
[2] πράως Abernetty and F.C.B.: πράῳ.

[a] Pythagoras, *Carmina aurea*, 42; quoted again in *Moralia*, 515 F.

a ruler, he looks to find the reason in himself and his own surroundings :

> Where did I err, and what have I done? What duty of mine was neglected ? [a]

But in the estimation of the superstitious man, every indisposition of his body, loss of property, deaths of children, or mishaps and failures in public life are classed as "afflictions of God" or "attacks of an evil spirit."[b] For this reason he has no heart to relieve the situation or undo its effects, or to find some remedy for it or to take a strong stand against it, lest he seem to fight against God and to rebel at his punishment ; but when he is ill the physician is ejected from the house, and when he is in grief the door is shut on the philosopher who would advise and comfort him. "Oh, sir," he says, "leave me to pay my penalty, impious wretch that I am, accursed, and hateful to the gods and all the heavenly host."[c]

It is possible in the case of a man unconvinced of the existence of gods, when he is in grief and great distress in other ways, to wipe away a tear, cut his hair, and take off his cloak ; but what words can you address to the superstitious man, or in what way shall you help him ? He sits outside his house with sackcloth on and filthy rags about him ; and oftentimes he rolls naked in the mire as he confesses divers sins and errors of his—eating this or drinking that, or walking in a path forbidden by his conscience. But if he is very fortunate, and but mildly yoked with

[b] *Cf.* Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, iii. 29 (72).

[c] Perhaps the language was suggested by the words in Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 1340.

(168) μονίᾳ, περιθειούμενος[1] οἴκοι κάθηται καὶ[2] περιματτόμενος, αἱ δὲ γρᾶες "καθάπερ παττάλῳ,"
E φησὶν ὁ Βίων, "ὅ τι ἂν τύχωσιν αὐτῷ περιάπτουσι φέρουσαι καὶ περιαρτῶσι."

8. Τὸν Τιρίβαζόν[3] φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν συλλαμβανόμενον σπάσασθαί τε τὸν ἀκινάκην, εὔρωστον ὄντα, καὶ διαμάχεσθαι· μαρτυρομένων δὲ καὶ βοώντων ὅτι συλλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέως κελεύσαντος, αὐτίκα τὸ ξίφος καταβαλεῖν καὶ τὼ χεῖρε συνδῆσαι παρασχεῖν. ἆρ' οὖν οὐχ ὅμοιόν ἐστι τὸ γιγνόμενον; οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι διαμάχονται συμφοραῖς καὶ διωθοῦνται τὰ πράγματα, φυγὰς ἑαυτοῖς μηχανώμενοι καὶ παρατροπὰς τῶν ἀβουλήτων· ὁ
F δὲ δεισιδαίμων οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας, αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπὼν "ταῦτα πάσχεις, ὦ κακόδαιμον, ἐκ προνοίας καὶ θεοῦ κελεύοντος" ἔρριψε πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα, προήκατο ἑαυτόν, ἔφυγε, διεκρούσατο τοὺς βοηθοῦντας.

Πολλὰ τῶν μετρίων κακῶν ὀλέθρια ποιοῦσιν αἱ δεισιδαιμονίαι. Μίδας ὁ παλαιός, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔκ τινων ἐνυπνίων ἀθυμῶν καὶ ταραττόμενος οὕτω κακῶς ἔσχε τὴν ψυχήν, ὥσθ' ἑκουσίως ἀποθανεῖν αἷμα ταύρου πιών. ὁ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων βασιλεὺς Ἀριστόδημος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους[4] πολέμῳ, κυνῶν λύκοις ὠρυομένων ὅμοια καὶ περὶ τὴν ἑστίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πατρῴαν

[1] περιθειούμενος Hercher: περιθυόμενος.
[2] καὶ added by Reiske.
[3] Τιρίβαζόν Hercher: τηρίβαζόν or τειρίβαζόν.
[4] Λακεδαιμονίους Xylander: μεσσηνίους.

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[a] Plutarch, in his *Life of Artaxerxes*, chap. xxix. (p. 1026 c), represents Tiribazus as fighting to the end, but this may have been on another occasion.

superstition, he sits in his house, subjecting himself to fumigation, and smearing himself with mud, and the old crones, as Bion says, "bring whatever chance directs and hang and fasten it on him as on a peg."

8. Tiribazus, they say, when an attempt was made by the Persians to arrest him, drew his sword, being a man of great strength, and fought desperately. But when the men protested and cried out that they were arresting him by the King's command, he instantly threw down his sword and held out his hands to be bound.[a] Is not what actually happens just like this? The rest of men fight desperately against misfortunes, and force their way through difficulties, contriving for themselves means to escape and avert things undesired; but the superstitious man, without a word from anybody, says all to himself, "This you have to undergo, poor soul, by the dispensation of Providence and by God's command," and casts away all hope, gives himself up, runs away, and repulses those who would help him.

Many ills of no great moment are made to result fatally by men's superstition. Midas of old, dispirited and disturbed, as it appears, as the result of some dreams, reached such a state of mind that he committed suicide by drinking bull's blood.[b] And Aristodemus, king of the Messenians in the war against the Spartans, when dogs howled like wolves, and quitch-grass began to grow around his ancestral

[b] Plutarch, in trying to be a physician of the soul to cure superstition, has here unwittingly turned homoeopath. *Cf.* B. Perrin's note on chap. xxxi. (p. 128 A) of the Life of Themistocles in *Plutarch's Themistocles and Aristides* (New York, 1901), page 256. To the references there given should be added Nicander, *Alexipharmaca*, 312.

*ἀγρώστεως ἀναβλαστανούσης καὶ τῶν μάντεων
τὰ σημεῖα φοβουμένων, ἐξαθυμήσας καὶ κατα-*
169 *σβεσθεὶς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν. ἦν
δ' ἴσως καὶ Νικίᾳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγῷ
κράτιστον οὕτως ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας
ὡς Μίδας ἢ Ἀριστόδημος ἢ φοβηθέντι τὴν σκιὰν
ἐκλιπούσης τῆς σελήνης καθῆσθαι περιτειχιζό-
μενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, εἶθ' ὁμοῦ τέτταρσι
μυριάσιν ἀνθρώπων φονευθέντων τε καὶ ζώντων
ἁλόντων ὑποχείριον γενέσθαι καὶ δυσκλεῶς ἀπο-
θανεῖν. οὐ γὰρ γῆς ἀντίφραξις ἐν μέσῳ γενομένης
φοβερόν, οὐδὲ δεινὸν ἐν καιρῷ περιόδων[1] σκιᾶς
πρὸς σελήνην ἀπάντησις, ἀλλὰ δεινὸν τὸ τῆς*
B *δεισιδαιμονίας σκότος ἐμπεσὸν τοῦ[2] ἀνθρώπου συγ-
χέαι καὶ τυφλῶσαι λογισμὸν ἐν πράγμασι μάλιστα
λογισμοῦ δεομένοις.*

*Γλαῦχ', ὅρα, βαθὺς[3] γὰρ ἤδη κύμασιν ταράσσεται
πόντος, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄκρα[4] Γυρέων ὀρθὸν ἵσταται
νέφος,
σῆμα χειμῶνος.*

τοῦτ' ἰδὼν κυβερνήτης εὔχεται μὲν ὑπεκφυγεῖν καὶ θεοὺς ἐπικαλεῖται σωτῆρας, εὐχόμενος δὲ τὸν οἴακα προσάγει, τὴν κεραίαν ὑφίησι,

[1] *περιόδων* Xylander: *ποδῶν*; *cf.* 171 A *infra.*
[2] *ἐμπεσὸν τοῦ* Bywater and F.C.B.: *ἐμπεσόντος.*
[3] *Γλαῦκ' ὅρα βαθὺς* Canter, but the reading is established by other quotations of the passage: *γλαυκεοράβδοις.*
[4] *ἄκρα* J. Pierson: *ἄκρᾳ.*

[a] Other portents which disheartened Aristodemus are related by Pausanias, iv. 13.

hearth, and the seers were alarmed by these signs, lost heart and hope by his forebodings, and slew himself by his own hand.[a] It would perhaps have been the best thing in the world for Nicias, general of the Athenians, to have got rid of his superstition in the same way as Midas and Aristodemus, rather than to be affrighted at the shadow on the moon in eclipse and sit inactive while the enemy's wall was being built around him, and later to fall into their hands together with forty thousand men, who were either slain or captured alive, and himself meet an inglorious end.[b] For the obstruction of light caused by the earth's coming between sun and moon is nothing frightful, nor is the meeting of a shadow with the moon at the proper time in its revolutions anything frightful, but frightful is the darkness of superstition falling upon man, and confounding and blinding his power to reason in circumstances that most loudly demand the power to reason.

> Glaucus, see, the mighty ocean
> Even now with billows roars,
> Round about the Gyrian summits
> Sheer in air a dark cloud soars,
> Sign of storm . . .;[c]

when the pilot sees this, he prays that he may escape the storm, and calls upon the Saviours,[d] but while he is praying he throws the helm over, lowers the yard, and

[b] The details regarding Nicias are to be found in Thucydides, vii. 35-87, and in Plutarch's *Life of Nicias*, chap. xxiii. (p. 538 D) ff.

[c] A fragment from Archilochus: *cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii. p. 696, Archilochus, No. 54.

[d] Castor and Pollux.

(169) φεύγει μέγα λαῖφος ὑποστολίσας ἐρεβώδεος ἐκ θαλάσσης.

ὁ Ἡσίοδος κελεύει πρὸ ἀρότου καὶ σπόρου τὸν γεωργὸν

εὔχεσθαί τ'[1] Διὶ χθονίῳ Δημήτερί θ' ἁγνῇ

C τῆς ἐχέτλης ἐχόμενον, Ὅμηρος δὲ τὸν Αἴαντά φησι τῷ Ἕκτορι μέλλοντα μονομαχεῖν εὔχεσθαι κελεύειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς θεοῖς, εἶτ' εὐχομένων ἐκείνων ὁπλίζεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ὅτε τοῖς μαχομένοις προσέταξεν

εὖ μέν τις δόρυ θηξάσθω, εὖ δ' ἀσπίδα θέσθω,

τότε παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς αἰτεῖ

δός με κατὰ πρηνὲς βαλέειν Πριάμοιο μέλαθρον·

ἀρετῆς γὰρ ἐλπὶς ὁ θεός ἐστιν, οὐ δειλίας πρόφασις. ἀλλ' Ἰουδαῖοι σαββάτων ὄντων ἐν ἀγνάμπτοις[2] καθεζόμενοι, τῶν πολεμίων κλίμακας προστιθέντων καὶ τὰ τείχη καταλαμβανόντων, οὐκ ἀνέστησαν ἀλλ' ἔμειναν ὥσπερ ἐν σαγήνῃ μιᾷ τῇ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ συνδεδεμένοι.

D 9. Τοιαύτη μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις καὶ περιστατικοῖς λεγομένοις πράγμασι καὶ καιροῖς ἡ δεισιδαιμονία, βελτίων δ' οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἡδίοσι τῆς ἀθεότητος. ἥδιστα δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις

[1] τ'] δ' in some MSS. and in Hesiod.
[2] ἀγνάπτοις in some MSS. preferred by Abernetty.

[a] *Cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 730; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 475 F, and Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 910, Adespota, No. 377.
[b] *Works and Days*, 465-8.
[c] Homer, *Il.* vii. 193 ff.
[d] *Ibid.* ii. 382.
[e] Adapted from Homer, *Il.* ii. 413-414.

Furling the big main sail,
Hastens to make his escape
Out from the murky sea.[a]

Hesiod advises[b] that the farmer before ploughing and sowing should

Pray to Zeus of the world below and to holy Demeter

with his hand on the plough-handle; and Homer says[c] that Ajax, as he was about to engage in single combat with Hector, bade the Greeks pray to the gods for him, and then, while they were praying, donned his armour; and when Agamemnon enjoined[d] on the fighting men,

See that each spear is well sharpened, and each man's shield in good order,

at the same time he asked in prayer from Zeus,

Grant that I raze to the level of earth the palace of Priam;[e]

for God is brave hope, not cowardly excuse. But the Jews,[f] because it was the Sabbath day, sat in their places immovable, while the enemy were planting ladders against the walls and capturing the defences, and they did not get up, but remained there, fast bound in the toils of superstition as in one great net.

9. Such are the characteristics of superstition in undesired and critical (as they are called) circumstances and occasions, but it is not one bit better than atheism even under pleasurable conditions. The pleasantest things that men enjoy are festal

[f] Perhaps the reference is to the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C. (*cf.* Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 16), or possibly to its capture by Antony in 38 B.C. (*cf.* Dio Cassius, xlix. 22). *Cf.* also Josephus, *Antiquitates Jud.* xii. 6. 2, and 1 Maccabees, ii. 32 ff.

(169) ἑορταὶ καὶ εἰλαπίναι πρὸς ἱεροῖς καὶ μυήσεις καὶ ὀργιασμοὶ καὶ κατευχαὶ θεῶν καὶ προσκυνήσεις. ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν σκόπει τὸν ἄθεον γελῶντα μὲν μανικὸν καὶ σαρδάνιον[1] γέλωτα τοῖς ποιουμένοις καί που παραφθεγγόμενον ἠρέμα[2] πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις ὅτι τετύφωνται καὶ δαιμονῶσιν οἱ θεοῖς ταῦτα δρᾶσθαι νομίζοντες, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν ἔχοντα κακόν. ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων βούλεται μὲν οὐ δύναται δὲ χαίρειν οὐδ' ἥδεσθαι·

πόλις δ' ὁμοῦ μὲν θυμιαμάτων γέμει,
E ὁμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων

ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ δεισιδαίμονος· ἐστεφανωμένος ὠχριᾷ, θύει καὶ φοβεῖται, εὔχεται φωνῇ παλλομένῃ καὶ χερσὶν ἐπιθυμιᾷ τρεμούσαις, καὶ ὅλως ἀποδείκνυσι τὸν Πυθαγόρου λόγον φλύαρον εἰπόντος ὅτι βέλτιστοι γιγνόμεθα πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς βαδίζοντες· τότε γὰρ ἀθλιώτατα καὶ κάκιστα πράττουσιν οἱ δεισιδαίμονες, ὥσπερ ἄρκτων φωλεοῖς ἢ χειαῖς δρακόντων ἢ μυχοῖς κητῶν τοῖς τῶν θεῶν μεγάροις ἢ ἀνακτόροις προσιόντες.

10. Ὅθεν ἔμοιγε καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔπεισι τοὺς τὴν
F ἀθεότητα φάσκοντας ἀσέβειαν εἶναι, μὴ φάσκοντας δὲ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν. καίτοι γ' Ἀναξαγόρας δίκην ἔφυγεν ἀσεβείας ἐπὶ τῷ λίθον[3] εἰπεῖν τὸν ἥλιον, Κιμμερίους δ' οὐδεὶς εἶπεν ἀσεβεῖς ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον οὐδ' εἶναι τὸ παράπαν νομίζουσι. τί σὺ

[1] σαρδάνιον] σαρδόνιον or σαρδώνιον.
[2] ἠρέμα] ἀτρέμα in some MSS.
[3] λίθον] μύδρον, the traditional word, by correction in one MS. Plutarch probably drew from the well-known passage in Plato's *Apology*, p. 26 D.

days and banquets at the temples, initiations and mystic rites, and prayer and adoration of the gods. Note that the atheist on these occasions gives way to insane and sardonic laughter at such ceremonies, and remarks aside to his cronies that people must cherish a vain and silly conceit to think that these rites are performed in honour of the gods ; but with him no harm is done save this. On the other hand the superstitious man, much as he desires it, is not able to rejoice or be glad :

> The city is with burning incense filled ;
> Full too of joyous hymns and doleful groans [a]

is the soul of the superstitious man. When the garland is on his head he turns pale, he offers sacrifice and feels afraid, he prays with quavering voice, with trembling hands he sprinkles incense, and, in a word, proves how foolish are the words of Pythagoras,[b] who said that we reach our best when we draw near to the gods. For that is the time when the superstitious fare most miserably and wretchedly, for they approach the halls or temples of the gods as they would approach bears' dens or snakes' holes or the haunts of monsters of the deep.

10. Hence it occurs to me to wonder at those who say that atheism is impiety, and do not say the same of superstition. Yet Anaxagoras was brought to trial for impiety on the ground that he had said the sun is a stone ; but nobody has called the Cimmerians impious because they do not believe even in the existence of the sun at all.[c] What say you ? The

[a] Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 4 ; quoted also in *Moralia*, 95 c, 445 d, and 623 c.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 413 b.

[c] *Cf.* Homer, *Od.* xi. 13-19.

λέγεις; ὁ μὴ νομίζων θεοὺς εἶναι ἀνόσιός ἐστιν; ὁ δὲ τοιούτους νομίζων οἵους οἱ δεισιδαίμονες, οὐ μακρῷ δόξαις ἀνοσιωτέραις σύνεστιν; ἐγὼ γοῦν ἂν ἐθέλοιμι μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λέγειν περὶ ἐμοῦ μήτε γεγονέναι τὸ παράπαν μήτ' εἶναι
170 *Πλούταρχον ἢ λέγειν ὅτι Πλούταρχός ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ἀβέβαιος εὐμετάβολος, εὐχερὴς πρὸς ὀργήν, ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσι τιμωρητικός, μικρόλυπος· ἂν καλῶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἑτέρους παραλίπῃς ἐκεῖνον, ἂν ἀσχολίας σοι γενομένης ἐπὶ θύρας μὴ ἔλθῃς ἢ μὴ προσείπῃς, διέδεταί σου τὸ σῶμα προσφὺς ἢ συλλαβὼν ἀποτυμπανιεῖ τὸ παιδίον, ἢ θηρίον ἔχων τοῖς καρποῖς ἐφήσει καὶ λυμανεῖται τὴν ὀπώραν.*

Τοῦ Τιμοθέου τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ᾄδοντος ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ λέγοντος

θυιάδα[1] φοιβάδα μαινάδα λυσσάδα

Κινησίας ὁ μελοποιὸς ἐκ τῶν θεατῶν ἀναστάς,
B *"τοιαύτη σοι," εἶπε, "θυγάτηρ γένοιτο." καὶ μὴν ὅμοια τούτοις καὶ χείρω περὶ Ἀρτέμιδος οἱ δεισιδαίμονες ὑπολαμβάνουσιν,*

αἴτε κα ἀπ' ἀγχόνας ᾄξασα,
αἴτε κα λεχὼν κναίσασα,
αἴτε κὰκ νεκρῶ παροῦσα,
ἀμπεφυρμένα ἐσῆλθες,
αἴτε καὶ ἐκ τριόδων

[1] *θυιάδα* Bergk: *θυάδα*.

man who does not believe in the existence of the gods is unholy? And is not he who believes in such gods as the superstitious believe in a partner to opinions far more unholy? Why, for my part, I should prefer that men should say about me that I have never been born at all, and there is no Plutarch, rather than that they should say "Plutarch is an inconstant fickle person, quick-tempered, vindictive over little accidents, pained at trifles. If you invite others to dinner and leave him out, or if you haven't the time and don't go to call on him, or fail to speak to him when you see him, he will set his teeth into your body and bite it through, or he will get hold of your little child and beat him to death, or he will turn the beast that he owns into your crops and spoil your harvest"[a]

When Timotheus, in a song at Athens, spoke of Artemis as

> Ecstatic Bacchic frantic fanatic,[b]

Cinesias, the song-writer, standing up in his place among the audience, exclaimed, "May you have a daughter like that!" It is a fact that the superstitious make assumptions like that, and even worse than that, about Artemis:

> If hasting in fear from a hanging corpse,
> If near to a woman in childbirth pain,
> If come from a house where the dead are mourned,
> Polluted you entered the holy shrine,
> Or if from the triple cross-roads come

[a] Probably a covert reference to Artemis who sent the Calydonian boar to ravage the fields; Homer, *Il.* ix. 533 ff.

[b] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 620, Timotheus, No. 1; *cf.* Plutarch, *Moralia*, 22 A.

(170) *καθαρμάτεσσιν ἐπισπωμένα*
τῷ παλαμναίῳ συμπλεχθεῖσα.[1]

Οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων ἐπιεικέστερα φρονοῦσι περὶ Ἀπόλλωνος περὶ Ἥρας περὶ Ἀφροδίτης· πάντας γὰρ τούτους τρέμουσι καὶ δεδοίκασι. καίτοι τί τοιοῦτον ἡ Νιόβη περὶ τῆς Λητοῦς ἐβλασφήμησεν, οἷον ἡ δεισιδαιμονία πέπεικε περὶ τῆς θεοῦ τοὺς
C *ἄφρονας, ὡς ἄρα λοιδορηθεῖσα κατετόξευσε τῆς ἀθλίας γυναικὸς*

ἓξ μὲν θυγατέρας, ἓξ δ' υἱέας ἡβώοντας;

οὕτως ἄπληστος ἀλλοτρίων κακῶν ἦν καὶ ἀνίλαστος. εἰ γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἡ θεὸς χολὴν εἶχε καὶ μισοπόνηρος ἦν καὶ ἤλγει κακῶς ἀκούουσα καὶ μὴ κατεγέλα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀγνοίας ἀλλ' ἠγανάκτει, τούτους ἔδει τοξεῦσαι τοὺς τοσαύτην ὠμότητα καὶ πικρίαν καταψευδομένους αὐτῆς καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγοντας καὶ γράφοντας. τῆς γοῦν Ἑκάβης προβαλλόμεθα τὴν πικρίαν ὡς βάρβαρον καὶ θηριώδη λεγούσης

D *τοῦ ἐγὼ μέσον ἧπαρ ἔχοιμι*
ἐσθέμεναι προσφῦσα,

τὴν δὲ Συρίαν θεὸν οἱ δεισιδαίμονες νομίζουσιν, ἂν

[1] The MSS. with only the slightest variations read as follows: *αἴ τε κἂν ἀπ' ἀγχόνας ἀΐξασα αἴ τε καλεχόνα κναίσατε αἴ τε κανέκεκρος μαίουσα ἂν πεφυρμένα ἐσῆλθες αἴ τε καὶ ἐκ τριπόδων, κτλ.* It was long ago recognized that we here have to do with a writer who in Doric dialect touches upon certain things which were taboo in the worship of Artemis, essentially the same as are referred to by Euripides in *Iphig. Taur.* 380-4. There is a temptation to suggest other possible restorations, for example *νεκροὺς κλαίουσα, λεχοὺς μαῖ' οὖσα, νεκρὸν κναίσασα*, but those interested will find other

Drawn to the place by cleansing rites
For the part you bear to the guilty one.[a]

And they think no more reasonably than this about Apollo and about Hera and about Aphrodite. For they tremble at all of these and dread them. And yet what did Niobe say regarding Leto that was so irreverent as is the belief which superstition has fixed in the minds of the unthinking regarding the goddess, that, because she was derided, she required that the unhappy woman's

Daughters six that she bore and six sons in the prime of young manhood[b]

be shot dead? So insatiable was she in doing harm to others, and so implacable! For if it were really true that the goddess cherishes anger, and hates wickedness, and is hurt at being ill spoken of, and does not laugh at man's ignorance and blindness, but feels indignation thereat, she ought to require the death of those who falsely impute to her such savagery and bitterness, and tell and write such stories. At any rate, we bring forward the bitterness of Hecuba as something barbaric and savage when she says,

I wish I might eat up his liver,
Biting it 'tween my teeth.[c]

And yet of the Syrian goddess[d] the superstitious

[a] *Cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* iii. p. 680; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 633, and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Lesebuch* (Berlin, 1902), p. 336.

[b] Adapted from Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 604.

[c] Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 212.

[d] *Cf.*, for example, Athenaeus, 346 d, or Kock, *Com. Attic. Frag.* iii. p. 167, Menander, No. 544.

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attempts at restoration in the books mentioned in note *a* above.

(170) μαινίδας[1] τις ἢ ἀφύας φάγῃ, τὰ ἀντικνήμια διεσθίειν, ἕλκεσι τὸ σῶμα πιμπράναι, συντήκειν τὸ ἧπαρ.

11. Ἆρ' οὖν τὸ μὲν λέγειν τὰ φαῦλα περὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνόσιον, τὸ δὲ δοξάζειν οὐκ ἀνόσιον; ἢ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἄτοπον ἡ δόξα ποιεῖ τοῦ βλασφημοῦντος; καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὴν βλασφημίαν ὅτι δυσμενείας σημεῖόν ἐστι προβαλλόμεθα, καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ἡμᾶς λέγοντας ἐχθροὺς νομίζομεν ὡς καὶ κακῶς φρονοῦντας. ὁρᾷς δ' οἷα περὶ τῶν θεῶν οἱ
E δεισιδαίμονες φρονοῦσιν, ἐμπλήκτους ἀπίστους εὐμεταβόλους τιμωρητικοὺς ὠμοὺς μικρολύπους ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη καὶ μισεῖν τὸν δεισιδαίμονα καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς θεούς. πῶς γὰρ οὐ μέλλει, τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν αὑτῷ δι' ἐκείνους οἰόμενος γεγονέναι καὶ πάλιν γενήσεσθαι; μισῶν δὲ θεοὺς καὶ φοβούμενος ἐχθρός ἐστι. κἂν δεδοίκῃ,[2] προσκυνεῖ γε καὶ θύει καὶ κάθηται πρὸς ἱεροῖς, καὶ οὐ θαυμαστόν ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς τυράννους ἀσπάζονται περιέπουσι χρυσοῦς ἀνιστᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ μισοῦσι σιγῇ "κάρα σείοντες." Ἀλέξανδρον Ἑρμόλαος ἐθεράπευε, Παυσανίας ἐδορυφόρει Φίλ-
F ιππον, Χαιρέας Γάιον, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος τούτων ἔλεγε παρακολουθῶν

ἦ σ' ἂν τισαίμην, εἴ μοι δύναμίς γε παρείη.

[1] μαινίδας] μαινίδα most MSS.: μαινίδια Paton.
[2] κἂν δεδοίκῃ F.C.B.: κἂν (καὶ some MSS.) δέδιε καὶ or καίτοι.

[a] Sophocles, *Antigone*, 291.
[b] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, chap. lv. (p. 696 c).
[c] It is said that Pausanias later helped to kill Philip. *Cf.* Aristotle, *Politics*, v. 10; Diodorus Siculus, xv. 94-95; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, iii. 45; Valerius Maximus, i. 8, ext. 9.

believe that if anybody eats sprats or anchovies, she will gnaw through the bones of his shins, inflame his body with sores, and dissolve his liver.

11. Is it, then, an unholy thing to speak meanly of the gods, but not unholy to have a mean opinion of them? Or does the opinion of him who speaks malignly make his utterance improper? It is a fact that we hold up malign speaking as a sign of animosity, and those who speak ill of us we regard as enemies, since we feel that they must also think ill of us. You see what kind of thoughts the superstitious have about the gods; they assume that the gods are rash, faithless, fickle, vengeful, cruel, and easily offended; and, as a result, the superstitious man is bound to hate and fear the gods. Why not, since he thinks that the worst of his ills are due to them, and will be due to them in the future? As he hates and fears the gods, he is an enemy to them. And yet, though he dreads them, he worships them and sacrifices to them and besieges their shrines; and this is nothing surprising; for it is equally true that men give welcome to despots, and pay court to them, and erect golden statues in their honour, but in their hearts they hate them and "shake the head."[a] Hermolaüs[b] attended upon Alexander, Pausanias[c] served as bodyguard for Philip, and Chaerea[d] for Gaius Caligula, yet each one of these must have said as he followed along:

> Verily I would have vengeance if only my strength were sufficient.[e]

[d] Cassius Chaerea fomented the conspiracy which resulted in the death of Caligula; *cf.* Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 32; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 56-58.

[e] Homer, *Il.* xxii. 20.

Οὐκ οἴεται θεοὺς εἶναι ὁ ἄθεος, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων οὐ βούλεται, πιστεύει δ' ἄκων· φοβεῖται γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν. καίτοι γ' ὥσπερ ὁ Τάνταλος ὑπεκδῦναι τὸν λίθον ἐπαιωρούμενον οὕτω καὶ οὗτος τὸν φόβον ὡς οὐχ ἧττον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πιεζόμενος ἀγαπήσειεν ἄν, καὶ μακαρίσειε τὴν τοῦ ἀθέου διάθεσιν ὡς ἐλευθέριον. νυνὶ δὲ τῷ μὲν ἀθέῳ δεισιδαιμονίας οὐδὲν μέτεστιν, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων τῇ προαιρέσει ἄθεος ὢν ἀσθενέστερός ἐστιν ἢ ὥστε δοξάζειν περὶ θεῶν ὃ βούλεται.

171 12. Καὶ μὴν ὁ ἄθεος δεισιδαιμονίας οὐδαμῇ συναίτιος, ἡ δὲ δεισιδαιμονία τῇ ἀθεότητι καὶ γενέσθαι παρέσχεν ἀρχὴν καὶ γενομένῃ δίδωσιν ἀπολογίαν, οὐκ ἀληθῆ μὲν οὐδὲ καλήν, προφάσεως δέ τινος οὐκ ἄμοιρον οὖσαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ τι μεμπτὸν οὐδ' ἐν ἄστροις οὐδ' ἐν ὥραις ἢ περιόδοις σελήνης ἢ κινήσεσιν ἡλίου περὶ γῆν, "ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς δημιουργοῖς," ἢ τροφαῖς ζῴων ἢ καρπῶν γενέσεσι πλημμελὲς καὶ ἄτακτον ἐνιδόντες οὕτως ἀθεότητα τοῦ παντὸς κατέγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἔργα καὶ πάθη καταγέλαστα, καὶ ῥήματα καὶ κινή-
B ματα καὶ γοητεῖαι καὶ μαγεῖαι καὶ περιδρομαὶ καὶ τυμπανισμοὶ καὶ ἀκάθαρτοι μὲν καθαρμοὶ ῥυπαραὶ δ' ἁγνεῖαι, βάρβαροι δὲ καὶ παράνομοι πρὸς ἱεροῖς κολασμοὶ καὶ προπηλακισμοί, ταῦτα δίδωσιν ἐνίοις λέγειν ὡς μὴ εἶναι θεοὺς ἄμεινον ἢ εἶναι, τοιαῦτα

[a] Adapted from Plato, *Timaeus*, p, 40 c. Plutarch quotes the phrase more accurately in *Moralia*, 937 E, 938 E, and 1006 E.

The atheist thinks there are no gods; the superstitious man wishes there were none, but believes in them against his will; for he is afraid not to believe. And yet, as Tantalus would be glad indeed to get out from under the rock suspended above his head, so the superstitious man would be glad to escape his fear by which he feels oppressed no less than Tantalus by his rock, and he would call the condition of the atheist happy because it is a state of freedom. But, as things are, the atheist has neither part nor lot in superstition, whereas the superstitious man by preference would be an atheist, but is too weak to hold the opinion about the gods which he wishes to hold.

12. Moreover, the atheist has no part in causing superstition, but superstition provides the seed from which atheism springs, and when atheism has taken root, superstition supplies it with a defence, not a true one or a fair one, but one not destitute of some speciousness. For it is not because these people saw in the heavens anything to find fault with, or anything not harmonious or well-ordered in the stars or seasons, or in the revolutions of the moon or in the movements of the sun around the earth, "artisans of day and night,"[a] or in the feeding and growth of living creatures, or in the sowing and harvesting of crops, as the result of which they decided against the idea of a God in the universe; but the ridiculous actions and emotions of superstition, its words and gestures, magic charms and spells, rushing about and beating of drums, impure purifications and dirty sanctifications, barbarous and outlandish penances and mortifications at the shrines—all these give occasion to some to say that it were better there should be no gods at all than gods who accept with

(171) μὲν δεχομένους τοιούτοις δὲ χαίροντας, οὕτω δ' ὑβριστάς, οὕτω δὲ μικρολόγους καὶ μικρολύπους.

13. Οὐκ ἄμεινον οὖν ἦν Γαλάταις ἐκείνοις καὶ Σκύθαις τὸ παράπαν μήτ' ἔννοιαν ἔχειν θεῶν μήτε φαντασίαν μήθ' ἱστορίαν ἢ θεοὺς εἶναι νομίζειν χαίροντας ἀνθρώπων σφαττομένων αἵματι καὶ
C τελεωτάτην θυσίαν καὶ ἱερουργίαν ταύτην νομίζοντας; τί δέ; Καρχηδονίοις οὐκ ἐλυσιτέλει Κριτίαν λαβοῦσιν ἢ Διαγόραν νομοθέτην ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μήτε τινὰ δαιμόνων μήτε θεῶν νομίζειν ἢ τοιαῦτα θύειν οἷα τῷ Κρόνῳ ἔθυον; οὐχ ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς φησι τῶν τὰ ζῷα θυόντων καθαπτόμενος

μορφὴν δ' ἀλλάξαντα πατὴρ φίλον υἱὸν ἀείρας
σφάζει ἐπευχόμενος μέγα νήπιος,

ἀλλ' εἰδότες καὶ γιγνώσκοντες αὐτοὶ τὰ αὐτῶν τέκνα καθιέρευον, οἱ δ' ἄτεκνοι παρὰ τῶν πενήτων ὠνούμενοι παιδία κατέσφαζον καθάπερ ἄρνας ἢ
D νεοσσούς, παρειστήκει δ' ἡ μήτηρ ἄτεγκτος καὶ ἀστένακτος. εἰ δὲ στενάξειεν ἢ δακρύσειεν, ἔδει τῆς τιμῆς στέρεσθαι, τὸ δὲ παιδίον οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐθύετο· κρότου τε κατεπίμπλατο πάντα πρὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐπαυλούντων καὶ τυμπανιζόντων ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν βοὴν τῶν θρήνων ἐξάκουστον.

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[a] *Cf.* Caesar, *Gallic War*, vi. 16 and Strabo, iv. 4. 5.

[b] *Cf.* Herodotus, iv. 70-72.

[c] Both Critias and Diagoras were famous atheists of antiquity. *Cf.* Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos*, ix. 54; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 880 D, 1075 A.

[d] Plutarch says (*Moralia*, 175 A and 522 A) that the practice was stopped by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, after his victory over the Carthaginians in 480 B.C. But *cf.* Diodorus, xx. 14, which suggests that the practice was later revived.

pleasure such forms of worship, and are so overbearing, so petty, and so easily offended.

13. Would it not then have been better for those Gauls [a] and Scythians [b] to have had absolutely no conception, no vision, no tradition, regarding the gods, than to believe in the existence of gods who take delight in the blood of human sacrifice and hold this to be the most perfect offering and holy rite? Again, would it not have been far better for the Carthaginians to have taken Critias or Diagoras [c] to draw up their law-code at the very beginning, and so not to believe in any divine power or god, rather than to offer such sacrifices as they used to offer to Cronos? [d] These were not in the manner that Empedocles describes [e] in his attack on those who sacrifice living creatures:

> Changed in form is the son beloved of his father so pious,
> Who on the altar lays him and slays him. What folly!

No, but with full knowledge and understanding they themselves offered up their own children, and those who had no children would buy little ones from poor people and cut their throats as if they were so many lambs or young birds; meanwhile the mother stood by without a tear or moan; but should she utter a single moan or let fall a single tear, she had to forfeit the money,[f] and her child was sacrificed nevertheless; and the whole area before the statue was filled with a loud noise of flutes and drums so that the cries of wailing should not reach the ears of the people. Yet,

Cronos here is, of course, the Greek equivalent of Phoenician El (Hebrew Moloch or Baal). *Cf.* G. F. Moore in the *Journal of Biblical Lit.* xvi. (1897), p. 161.

[e] Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 275.

[f] Since the bad omen of her conduct would nullify the good effect of the sacrifice.

(171) εἰ δὲ Τυφῶνές τινες ἢ Γίγαντες ἦρχον ἡμῶν τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκβαλόντες, ποίαις ἂν ἥδοντο θυσίαις ἢ τίνας ἄλλας ἱερουργίας ἀπῄτουν; Ἄμηστρις δ' ἡ Ξέρξου γυνὴ δώδεκα κατώρυξεν ἀνθρώπους ζῶντας ὑπὲρ αὑτῆς τῷ Ἅιδῃ, ὃν ὁ Πλάτων φησὶ φιλάνθρωπον E ὄντα καὶ σοφὸν καὶ πλούσιον, πειθοῖ καὶ λόγῳ κατέχοντα τὰς ψυχάς, Ἅιδην ὠνομάσθαι. Ξενοφάνης δ' ὁ φυσικὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους κοπτομένους ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ θρηνοῦντας ὁρῶν ὑπέμνησεν οἰκείως. "οὗτοι," φησίν, "εἰ μὲν θεοί εἰσι, μὴ θρηνεῖτε αὐτούς· εἰ δ' ἄνθρωποι, μὴ θύετε αὐτοῖς."

14. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὕτω πολυπλανὲς καὶ πολυπαθὲς νόσημα καὶ μεμιγμένον ἐναντίαις δόξαις καὶ μαχομέναις μᾶλλον ὡς τὸ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας. φευκτέον οὖν αὐτὴν ἀσφαλῶς τε καὶ συμφερόντως, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ λῃστῶν ἢ θηρίων ἔφοδον ἢ πῦρ ἀπερι- F σκέπτως καὶ ἀλογίστως περιφεύγοντες ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς ἀνοδίας βάραθρα καὶ κρημνοὺς ἐχούσας. οὕτω γὰρ ἔνιοι φεύγοντες τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς ἀθεότητα τραχεῖαν καὶ ἀντίτυπον, ὑπερπηδήσαντες ἐν μέσῳ κειμένην τὴν εὐσέβειαν.

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[a] Herodotus, vii. 114; but compare iii. 35.

[b] The reference is probably to Plato, *Cratylus*, pp. 403 A–404 B, where are repeated the popular etymologies of Pluto from πλοῦτος (wealth), and Hades from πάντα τὰ καλὰ εἰδέναι (all-knowing of good).

[c] The saying is quoted also in *Moralia*, 379 B and 763 C, and referred to in 228 E, *cf.* also Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 23, 27.

if Typhons or Giants were ruling over us after they had expelled the gods, with what sort of sacrifices would they be pleased, or what other holy rites would they require? Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, caused twelve human beings to be buried alive [a] as an offering in her behalf to propitiate Hades, of whom Plato says [b] that it is because he is humane and wise and rich, and controls the souls of the dead by persuasion and reason, that he has come to be called by this name. Xenophanes, the natural philosopher, seeing the Egyptians beating their breasts and wailing at their festivals, gave them a very proper suggestion: "If these beings are gods," said he, "do not bewail them; and if they are men, do not offer sacrifices to them." [c]

14. But there is no infirmity comprehending such a multitude of errors and emotions, and involving opinions so contradictory, or rather antagonistic, as that of superstition. We must try, therefore, to escape it in some way which is both safe and expedient, and not be like people who incautiously and blindly run hither and thither to escape from an attack of robbers or wild beasts, or from a fire, and rush into trackless places that contain pitfalls and precipices. For thus it is that some persons, in trying to escape superstition, rush into a rough and hardened atheism, thus overleaping true religion which lies between.[d]

[d] An application of the Aristotelian doctrine that virtue is the mean between two extremes (vices).

INDEX

INDEX

INDEX

INDEX

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(222)

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